

THE  
METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1845.

---

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

---

ART. I.—*Life of Oliver Cromwell.* By ROBERT SOUTHEY, LL. D.  
New-York: D. Appleton. 1845.

No portion of English history is of more intense and perplexing interest than that of the "rebellion;" and among the prominent characters of that period none is so conspicuous as Oliver Cromwell. Histories of that age are numerous; but the world is not satisfied, and the press teems with discussions of its affairs, while biographies of that wonderful man are still produced and sought for with unabated avidity. But all histories of that period necessarily partake of a partisan character: for the contest then maintained was not for an accidental supremacy, nor were the parties the creatures of the occasion; that conflict was between the minions of tyranny and the advocates of the rights of man, in which every spectator is deeply interested, and therefore disqualified for impartial judgment. Time, however, is the great arbiter of human actions; and the light of truth, softened in its passage through two intervening centuries, enables the present generation readily to determine the merits of the affairs of those eventful times. Where there still exists difference of views and opinions relative to these matters, they originate not in any considerable discrepancies as to facts, but in different notions of the rights and privileges of persons. Affection often contributes largely to our opinions, so that we judge not less from prejudices than from facts. Few individuals have suffered so much in reputation, from this cause, as Cromwell. Hated alike by all the factions of his times, he was sustained by his own individual energies alone, while he lived, and when dead, his fame as well as his body was delivered over to his enemies. But, though without a party, he had for cotemporaries and fellow-countrymen a few persons too great, indeed, to be the partisans of any man, but possessed of the discernment to perceive, and of the honesty and courage to declare, the rectitude of his cause

and the excellence of his administration. To live at the same time and place with two such men as Milton and John Goodwin is no common privilege,—to enjoy their society is an honor greater than kings can confer; but to have them both for advocates, unbought and unsolicited, is the highest earthly favor. Yet these great men were Cromwell's friends, and the advocates of his cause, for which both have received the execrations of the sycophants of all succeeding times; though the poetical genius of the former has now fully rescued his fame from the malignity of his enemies, and for the latter, justice, though more tardy, is preparing a similar triumph.

The part acted by Cromwell in the convulsions of his times has placed his name conspicuously upon the page of his country's history, so that all who write of these affairs are compelled to animadvert upon his conduct and character. The result in each case is such as might be expected from the known sentiments of the writer. Hume's stands foremost among the popular histories of England, and has exercised a controlling influence in determining public opinion relative to the affairs of which he treats. But Hume was incapable of appreciating the motives and designs of Cromwell, and of course was wholly unable to portray his character. In politics, a royalist; in philosophy, a skeptic; a time-serving churchman and an infidel at heart; he could not fail to do injustice to his subject when descanting upon the life and actions of such a man as Cromwell. If any look further into English history, the writings of Lord Clarendon lie next in the way,—a writer of unquestionable ability, of a fair personal character, but a decided royalist, and a cotemporary and active enemy of Cromwell in all his public career,—who, himself, went into exile with banished royalty, and received a lordship for his fidelity to the fallen fortunes of his prince. Such a man could scarcely be expected to do justice to his personal enemy, however honest his intentions. But the records of that age are ample and well-authenticated, so that no one need remain in ignorance of the truth, nor indeed is there any necessity always to view it through the false medium of other men's prejudices. The collections of Rushworth, and the papers of Secretary Thurloe, are sufficient to set the whole subject right; and the *Memoirs* and other writings of many candid cotemporary authors—unhappily but little read—present the truth in the clearness of daylight.

Biographies of Cromwell are numerous, but like his history in more general treatises, they are discordant in tone, and contradictory as to matters of fact. In this particular, bad luck has attended the fame of the Protector, especially in this country; for of all his biographies, none so violently and unjustly asperses his



reputation as that of Russell, which, having found its way into that deservedly popular collection, Harper's Family Library, is read by thousands who never learn that the book they have read does not present the true character of its subject. Harris's "Historical and Critical Account of the Life of Oliver Cromwell" is a very fair work, in which facts are fearlessly stated and well sustained, and reflections made with an enlarged liberality of spirit. About the year 1820 a "Life of Cromwell" was offered to the public in London, from the pen of Oliver Cromwell, Esq., a descendant of the Protector; and soon after, another by Thomas Cromwell, not of the same family: both of which works are favorable to the fame of the Protector, and the former an elaborate vindication of the name of the author's illustrious ancestor. But these works are little known in this country. Noble's "Memoirs of the Protectorate House of Cromwell" is a valuable work, leaning indeed somewhat to the cause of the king and the church, but giving an honest statement of facts, with just and liberal reflections. Dr. Southey's book, whose title stands at the head of this article, is a small volume of one hundred and fifty-eight pages, lately reprinted by the Messrs. Appleton of this city, as one of a series called a "Library for my Young Countrymen." Not having kept a close watch of all the numerous offspring of the prolific pen of the late poet laureate, we were quite uninformed as to the trans-atlantic reputation of this work, and when we saw announced, a Life of Cromwell by Southey, though we expected but little in the way of facts or philosophy, we promised ourselves at least some amusement in tracing the extravagances and inconsistencies which must be produced by such an author, writing upon such a subject; for instead of this meager juvenile affair, we had figured to ourselves a portly octavo, stuffed with all sorts of things in general, and everything in particular. Though disappointed as to the amount of matter, its kind answers to our expectation. Here Cromwell is shown to have been at once a hypocrite and an honest man; good-hearted and blood-thirsty,—wanting only the benedictions of *the* church to become a saint, yet adjudged to perdition; requiring only the favor of royalty to raise his actions to the first grade of heroism, and only legitimacy to constitute him the best of rulers: still he is consigned to our contempt and execration, a fearful monument of the danger of laying unholy hands upon the persons of kings, and daring to touch the Lord's anointed! But we are most at a loss to understand the meaning of the American editor and publishers. If the editor is so entirely deficient in judgment as to select this book as a fit work to put into the hands of his "young countrymen," we advise the publishers, as

they value their profits, to inform him that they have no further need of his services. If this is a specimen of the series, we wish them no other harm than to remain unmolested upon the shelves of the publishers, a memorial of the madness of an attempt to force the exploded follies of English courts and hierarchies upon the American public. If Cromwell is condemned for the causes assigned by writers of the class to which Dr. Southey belongs, the leaders of the American revolution are still more deeply involved in the same condemnation; and we, instead of celebrating their deeds and honoring their memories, should repent of the sins in which they have involved us, by bequeathing to us the inheritance of rebels.

There is abundant cause to suspect that a strong anti-American movement is in progress beyond the Atlantic, and that its leaders have their allies among ourselves, who, with Jesuitical cunning, would seek to poison the sentiments of the young, that they may become the victims of their craft.

In the following pages we shall attempt to review some of the principal events of the life of that wonderful man, and endeavor to form a proper estimate of his character, availing ourselves of all the facilities within our reach; and, in passing, to pay just so much attention to the work before us as may aid us in that purpose.

The pedigree of distinguished persons is, among us, a subject of but little interest, and hence is frequently unknown; but where official dignity has, by long association, become conjoined with exalted birth and hereditary honors, whoever is possessed of the one is expected to assert his title by means of the other. In this particular, Cromwell could make a better showing than might have been expected of one who had attained his elevation with so little of this adventitious aid. He was descended by both his parents from some of the oldest families of British nobility. The line of his paternal ancestors reaches back into the eleventh century, when Glothian, lord of Powis, married Morveth, daughter and heir of Edwin ap Tydwell, lord of Cardigan, by which the two lordships of Powis and Cardigan were united. For four hundred years nothing remarkable is recorded of this long line of Welsh nobility, but in the fifteenth century we hear of William ap Yevan, in the service of Jasper, duke of Bedford, and subsequently in that of Henry VII., king of England. Morgan, his son and heir, (who, according to the custom of the age, retained his father's name, and was called Morgan William's,) married a sister of Thomas, Lord Cromwell, the celebrated vicar-general of Henry VIII. The children of Morgan William's took the surname of their maternal grandfather as well as that of their father, and were called Crom-

well alias William's, and at length the latter appellation was omitted. His intimacy and favor with Lord Cromwell gave Sir Richard Cromwell, son and heir of Morgan, an opportunity to enrich himself with the spoil of the suppressed monasteries, of which he largely availed himself, esteeming poverty more dreadful than dead men's curses. His son Henry succeeded to his estates, and was distinguished for wealth and hospitality. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and is said to have enjoyed in an unusual degree the favor of that imperious princess. His eldest son, Oliver, succeeded him in his patrimony, and was also made a knight, while his younger sons had fortunes of about three hundred pounds a year,—those of Robert, his second son, lying near the town of Huntington, having once belonged to the monastery of St. Mary's. Robert Cromwell married Elizabeth Steward of the city of Ely, whose family was derived from the same stock with the royal house of Scotland, then, by inheritance, possessed of the throne and kingdom of England. Though declining from the grade of his ancestors, as is the fate of the younger branches of the nobility, he was a gentleman of respectability,—was a member of one of Queen Elizabeth's parliaments, and also a justice of the peace. He had a large family, of whom the subject of this paper was the second son, and the only one that lived to man's estate.

The early life of Oliver, afterward Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was not distinguished by anything remarkable, though those who are fond of the marvelous can tell of many strange things. One of these apocryphal stories is so characteristic of the person, that, although unsupported by any adequate evidence, it may be repeated as a specimen of its class.

It is said that being on a certain occasion on a visit at the seat of his uncle, Sir Oliver, when the royal family of James I. rested there for a short time, little Oliver was brought to play with Prince Charles; but the play resulted in a fight, in which the future regicide, faithful to destiny, made his first essay at shedding royal blood. He attended the grammar-school of his native town, and at seventeen was removed to Cambridge, and entered commoner in Sydney-Sussex College. In the college register, where his name is entered, between his and the next entry is a remarkable interpolation, which, as it serves at once to identify the person intended, and to show the spirit in which his memory has been preserved, we insert in an English dress: "This was that grand impostor and graceless cut-throat, who, when the pious king Charles had been taken off by a vile murder, usurped the throne, and harassed the three kingdoms with indomitable tyranny for the space of five years, under the name



of Protector." He remained at Cambridge but one year, when the death of his father made his presence necessary at home. He is said to have been afterward student at Lincoln's Inn, though of this there is no certain evidence, nor is his name found upon the rolls, and he is known to have passed much of the three years between his leaving Cambridge and his marriage at his native town.

During this time it is generally granted that his habits were irregular, but to what degree of depravity he abandoned himself is not readily determined; not for want of testimony in the case, but on account of a sad deficiency of credibility in the witnesses, and of probability in their statements. Among the evidence adduced upon this point is a letter written by Cromwell himself relative to this time, in which he says that "he lived in and loved darkness and hated the light," and that he was "the chief of sinners." This is plainly a very narrow foundation for the broad conclusion that is made to rest upon it; for, as is well remarked by his biographer, Oliver Cromwell, Esq., "such would be the language of any person of the present day, who, after professing Christianity in the common loose way, and even preserving himself free from gross sins and immoralities, should become a convert to the stricter doctrines and precepts of the Scriptures, as held by those who are deemed to be the evangelical or orthodox believers of the times." Dr. Southey coincides with this conclusion, though from a very different view of the subject, and so avails himself of the occasion to give one of his characteristic strokes: "Mr. Cromwell is right," he remarks on the above; "the letter proves nothing, except that there is a good deal of the same kind of canting now that there was then, cant being a coin that always passes current. The language of an evangelical professor concerning his own wickedness is no more to be taken literally than that of an amorous sonneteer, when he complains of flames and torments." This short extract is a key to Southey's heart; for, doubtless, he spoke from the heart, and it demonstrates his total ignorance of the subject he attempts to discuss.

Not long after his marriage, Cromwell's religious character underwent an entire change. Mr. Noble's statement is, that "from a debauched life, Oliver fell by degrees into the opposite extreme; the quickness of his transition from vice to virtue, and the rigidity of his manner, had recommended him to some sour and austere non-conformists, particularly their preachers, who weaned him from the Established Church. He now took to a stricter course of life, which he daily increased, till his mind seemed wholly bent on religious subjects; his house became the retreat of the persecuted

non-conformist teachers; and they show a building behind it, which, they say, he erected for a chapel, where many of the disaffected had their religious rites performed, and in which Mr. Cromwell himself sometimes gave them some very edifying sermons." It would be interesting to be informed of the agencies through which this reformation was effected, though we may reasonably presume that his new associates were somewhat instrumental in producing this, as well as the change in his feelings toward the Established Church. Indeed, after his change of character, there is no need to inquire further for causes of alienation, for the Spirit which produces sudden changes from vice to virtue was little known in the national church at that time, and when he was made partaker of that Spirit he would naturally seek for communion elsewhere. But by whatever means effected, the fact is certain: Cromwell became a Puritan, and that event occurring at such a time, with such a man, determined his future course. He thenceforward became the champion of liberty of conscience and the friend of the persecuted, till, in the end, in prosecuting this cause, he undermined the throne, and put his foot upon the neck of royalty itself.

External causes frequently have a controlling influence upon the characters and destinies of men. Had Cromwell lived at a time of public quiet, and under a government rightly administered, he probably would have been unknown, except as a plain country gentleman, and succeeding generations would not have heard his name. The state of public affairs when he entered upon his career of life was admirably adapted to the development of his peculiar genius, and to place him prominently before the world. Under the able conduct of the Tudors, England had taken rank with the first class of European kingdoms; the tyranny of Rome had been broken, and the people allowed to enjoy many of the blessings of good government. The ability of this dynasty was admirably calculated to advance the prerogative to a dangerous height, especially as hitherto it had been undefined. But while the prerogative was increasing, through the influence of wise counsels, and a strong hand upon the helm of government, the people were also advancing in all the attributes of humanity, and so becoming less fitted for subjects of despotism. Even during the lifetime of Queen Elizabeth there were, especially in the House of Commons, frequent indications of an increasing spirit of freedom, to control which required all her authority, and which became wholly unmanageable in the subsequent reigns.

The accession of the Stuarts brought with it all the high pretensions of the preceding dynasty, with very little of the ability by

which they had been sustained. James I., though not wholly destitute of personal excellences, possessed not a single royal virtue. Though without personal dignity, his vanity was unbounded; a tyrant at heart and in life, he could not surmount opposition; but when overawed by personal influence, his fawning was as disgusting as before his arrogance was intolerable. He had reduced duplicity and double-dealing to a system which he had dignified by the name of "king-craft." Charles I. was educated in a court where falsehood was esteemed a princely virtue, with which to gain and exercise power over the subjects, and with his crown he inherited the most extravagant notions of regal power and dignity. But the nation was not in temper to submit to a mere shadow of royalty, for they had learned to venerate princes for their personal qualities, and to judge of their actions by rules drawn from higher principles than the rights of kings. When Charles ascended the throne, the elements of mischief, which had long been fermenting, were ready to burst upon the kingdom. The parliament, called soon after his accession, was hastily dissolved, when they had been in session but a very short time, and before they had matured any of the business for which they were convened. Another, which was summoned the next year, proved still more refractory, and had a shorter existence. Three years then transpired before another parliament was assembled, and when they met, such was the mutual disgust of king and parliament, that Charles dissolved them soon after, and determined to govern alone.

Charles's maxims of government were the most despotic, such as are realized only in Oriental courts. He esteemed his a simple monarchy—held by divine right, and for which he was responsible to God alone. In ecclesiastical affairs he proceeded on the same principles. With a strong bias toward Romanism, he sacredly maintained the divine right of episcopacy, and, as the legal head of the church, claimed absolute control of the consciences of his subjects. But while he assumed such authority to himself as king, he was personally subject to his favorites, who usually became and continued such by humoring his fancies concerning his prerogatives. The duke of Buckingham, himself an impersonation of court profligacy, was the companion of his youth, and his chief minister after his accession, till, in the fourth year of his reign, the hand of the assassin delivered the kingdom from that scourge. His queen, a daughter of the king of France, to obtain whom he pawned his kingdom to the pope, and pledged his future offspring as hostages of his favor to the Romish faith, possessed his heart,



and ruled his actions with a power suited to his own notions of regality; and by her gayety, rapacity, recklessness, and hatred of the English, no doubt hastened and heightened the catastrophe of the king's affairs. After Buckingham, his chief ministers were his own creatures. In civil affairs the proud and imperious earl of Strafford was foremost, while the Romanizing prelate, Laud, acted the pope in the hierarchy. *Par nobile fratrum.*

The personal character of King Charles is a subject of glowing panegyric with his admirers. Dr. Southey's remarks on this subject, which we subjoin, are a fair specimen of their class: "In any other age," says he, "Charles would have been the best and most popular of kings. His unambitious and conscientious spirit would have preserved the kingdom in peace; his private life would have set an example of dignified virtue, such as had rarely been seen in courts; and his love of arts and letters would have conferred splendor upon his age, and secured for himself the grateful applause of after generations." If the age made Charles what he was, then "in any other age" he would have been a better king, for he could not readily have changed for the worse; but it is too plain to require proof, that, as things stood, it was not in him to be either a good or a popular prince. If he was unambitious, it was because he conceived that he had gained such an elevation, that there was nothing more to desire; and as for his conscientiousness, it only served to clothe his tyranny with the sacred robes of religion. He was, indeed, a great pretender to conscientiousness; but it is remarkable that his conscience always adapted itself to his maxims of government. It felt the bands of his coronation oath whenever the prerogatives or the hierarchy was in question; but when the people's rights were concerned, its ligaments were powerless as the green withes upon the strong man's hands. Though scrupulously devout, he had so thoroughly learned his father's science of "king-craft," that his most solemn asseverations could not be believed with safety. We cannot avoid the conviction, that when Charles had ascended the throne of England, one of two things was inevitable;—either the English people were to become slaves, or the king was to be deposed. Such a man could never be the ruler of a free people.

Few ages have been more fruitful of great men than that of this monarch: whether we should view this as one of the happy coincidences brought about by an all-wise Providence, or as the natural result of the occasion, which developed powers that would otherwise have remained latent, we shall not attempt to determine. The House of Commons, of 1628, was made up of a set of persons

seldom equaled in any deliberative assembly. Among them were Selden, Pym, Hampden, and Wentworth, yet uncorrupted by royal favors, and, above all, in long-tried senatorial wisdom, Sir Edward Coke, the illustrious expounder of English law. It is easy to imagine how Cromwell's spirit kindled at the glowing eloquence of these gifted men, and how his soul responded to the sentiments of liberty which they uttered. Here he took lessons in statesmanship, which gave form and expression to his political character. The position taken by that parliament was worthy of their exalted station as the peers of the realm and the representatives of English freemen. A correction of abuses was demanded by the state of public affairs, and faithfully insisted upon by parliament. The bill of rights was wrested from the king, though it availed but little while he had the power to violate it at his pleasure. Cromwell distinguished himself by his opposition to the temporizing clergy, who, for royal favor, had lent their ghostly influence to the cause of oppression, declaring "the royal will pre-eminent over all laws, and the king's proclamation binding on the conscience of the subjects on pain of damnation." In this movement of Cromwell we discover the Puritan no less than the friend of liberty, which are, indeed, kindred spirits, though, in some instances, found in separate existence.

The interval between this and the Long Parliament is among the most remarkable periods in the annals of England. For nearly eleven years the constitution lay in ruins; English liberty was at an end; arbitrary exactions took the place of the grants of the people through the Commons, and no man had any other guaranty for life or property than the king's good pleasure. Yet the nation was generally quiet, and a good degree of prosperity prevailed. Population and trade were steadily increasing; agriculture improved; the plague, which had desolated the country for several years, was greatly abated; and the mass of the common people were comparatively happy. But that was not the quiet of security; nor was the calm the effect of a settled atmosphere, but rather the fearful stillness that precedes and presages the coming tornado. Yet so long did it continue, that most concluded that it would be perpetual. The scene was a mournful one to the contemplation of the patriot. The spirit of freedom, compressed in the folds of despotism, seemed to have ceased to resist, and to have resigned itself to its fate. Discouraged at the prospect, multitudes forsook their native country, preferring freedom in a foreign land to the slavery and oppression which were continually increasing at home. It is well known that Lord Say and Seal, and Lord Brooke, took

preliminary measures for removing to America ; and most writers on this subject also declare that Hazelrigge, Hampden, and Cromwell, had actually embarked for "the land of the Pilgrims," but were forbidden to proceed by an order of the king in council. If this was really the case, Dr. Southey may well say, "Few facts in history have so much the appearance of fatality as this."

It is impossible to imagine how far Charles would have gone in his madness had he not begun to reap its bitter fruits, and to experience the infelicity of his strange position. But his own necessities impelled him to his ruin. Extortion and violence failed to replenish his treasury, so that he was at once starved at his exchequer, and buffeted by rebellion. When all appearance of merit was taken away from the concession, on account of the stern necessity that compelled him to that course, the king yielded to the wishes of the nation and called a parliament, of whom, in not very courteous language, he demanded a large supply. The Short Parliament of 1640 is almost universally commended, although, for the most part, the same men composed the Long Parliament. Dr. Southey himself acknowledges that "the majority of that parliament consisted of men who knew their duty to their king and country ; and in asserting the constitutional liberties of the people, would have sacredly preserved the rights of the crown." Doubtless, as the same author further states, there were some who contemplated fundamental changes, for they saw that as things then stood, the people's privileges were subject to the monarch's caprice ; and they wisely determined to obtain greater security for the subjects' rights. With such a parliament, a wise and virtuous prince could not have failed to be happy ; but as they presumed to do something else besides give him his demanded supplies, Charles prorogued them before they had perfected anything. Yet such was the desperate state of the king's affairs, that in less than six months another parliament was called, as the only safeguard against universal anarchy.

The members of the Long Parliament were chosen under the most unpropitious circumstances. The long time that the king had pertinaciously refused to assemble the great council of the nation, and then the sudden dissolution of the one lately called, had greatly exasperated the people, so that moderate counsels could hardly be expected to prevail among their representatives when thus called together. Still there was a good degree of moderation, at least in appearance, when they first entered upon the public business, though they proceeded vigorously to redress grievances and to prune the exuberances of the overgrown prerogative.



Cromwell was a member of this parliament for Cambridge. In Warwick's Memoirs we find the following description of his person, as he appeared in the beginning of its first session. "The first time," says he, "that I ever took notice of him was in the very beginning of the parliament held in November, 1640. . . . I came one morning into the house, and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor. His linen was plain, and not very clean; . . . his hat was without a hatband; his stature was of good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervor." Cromwell's course at this time will be judged of by different persons according to their affections to the parties of those times; there is no cause, however, to believe that at this time he or the party with which he acted intended harm to the king, the country, or the laws, but only designed to correct existing abuses, and protect all in the enjoyment of their respective privileges.

But however reasonable these demands may seem, they could not be extorted from the king and his ministers. Strafford hated and feared the liberal party, to which he had proved traitorous, and dreaded any accommodation between them and the king, lest he might be given up as a peace-offering, or left to the vengeance of his enemies; for he had not forgotten Pym's significant threat, that though he had left them, they would never leave him while his head was on his shoulders. He dared not assent to any terms that would meet the just demands of the parliament. The case with Laud was little better. A bigoted and persecuting prelate, he had advanced the affairs of the church to an odious spiritual despotism; had invaded Scotland with an army of his ecclesiastics, and, in attempting to force episcopacy upon that people, had excited the whole kingdom to rebellion. England was but little less agitated; the courts of the High Commission and Star Chamber had filled the land with terror, and rendered the church hateful among the people; for while they were perishing for lack of knowledge, many of their ablest and most faithful ministers were silenced and driven out to starve in retirement. With him bigotry united with self-interest to resist the demanded reformation, and no doubt he was prepared to maintain his position, or hazard all in the attempt. For awhile Charles yielded to the current of things; some of the most odious abuses were corrected, and ample promises given thenceforward to govern by the laws. The principal ministers of his tyranny were impeached, and a bill passed to per-

petuate the present parliament. When Charles had gone to a very considerable extent in his concessions, but had perfected nothing, he suddenly stopped short, and utterly refused to advance another step. Having proved himself false to his old friends by his concessions, he now proved himself equally so to the parliament and nation, by refusing to complete the necessary corrections. Had he not yielded anything, posterity might have praised his firmness and constancy, though exhibited in a bad cause; but as the facts are, all must hold him guilty of either degrading his royal dignities and sacrificing his faithful ministers, or of refusing to consummate a work which nothing but duty and stern necessity could justify him in beginning. The consequence of the king's new course was a rupture with the parliament, and accordingly, after having taken precautionary measures to secure important positions and military stores, he openly levied war against them.

The causes which led to this civil war should be carefully noticed, since the subsequent course of parties must be judged of by the character of their positions at its commencement. In all Charles's parliaments a decided opposition to his administration had been maintained, and in each case, when the united influence of menace and bribery had failed to subdue it, he had angrily dissolved them, and, for the greater portion of his reign, had conducted the affairs of the kingdom without the aid and concurrence of the co-ordinate branches of the government. This long-continued refusal to assemble a parliament was unquestionably treasonable, and properly subjected the advisers of the measure to impeachment and condign punishment. Had the parliament, however, been content with this, and not attempted also to guard against a recurrence of like abuses, there probably would not have been any violent rupture between themselves and the king; for the fate of Strafford proves but too plainly that Charles would not have hesitated to sacrifice his ministers in order to secure his darling despotism. The king's want of money put him in the power of the Commons, who were too cautious to make him independent of themselves before they had obtained indemnity against future acts of tyranny. The king asked nothing but money; the parliament demanded a redress of grievances and security for the future. The king yielded, piece by piece, until many grievances were redressed and great reforms projected; but when to insure the execution of these reforms the parliament asked the control of the militia, the king pertinaciously refused to grant it. These concessions, had they been so made as to assure parliament and the nation that the king was, in good faith, intent upon reforming abuses, were such

as ought to have satisfied the popular party, for awhile at least, until a further opportunity should enable them to perfect what they had begun. But although the parliament was perpetuated by law, the king was still the sole sovereign; for with the sword in his own hand, and the dispensing power in full exercise, it would not have been difficult for him, at the first favorable change in his circumstances, to return to his former course. And why was he so much more tenacious of his right to the militia, than many other prerogatives hitherto claimed, but now conceded, unless he expected to have need of the strong arm of military power to awe the parliament and the people into obedience? This itself looks very suspicious; and with this before them, in addition to numerous other instances, in which the king's perfidy was manifested, the parliament had no right to trust at all to his promises.

While these things were in progress, several very unhappy affairs occurred, which greatly exasperated the people against their prince. The bishops were Charles's peculiar care, nor could he without great difficulty be persuaded to abridge their power, which was the principal obstacle in the House of Lords to the measures of the reformers; so, while their course made themselves and their office odious to the nation, this odium was naturally transferred to the court by which they were sustained. The massacre of the Irish Protestants by their Papist countrymen—a tragedy second in atrocity only to the slaughter of St. Bartholomew's day in France, of which horrible affair the court was suspected to be not wholly guiltless, and toward which, when enacted, it certainly manifested a criminal indifference—alarmed the Protestants of England, and greatly exasperated them against the Papists of their own country; who being harbored and protected at court, and favored throughout the kingdom above many Protestants, occasioned the government to be feared and hated also. That Charles tampered with the Irish rebels and murderers is certain, which, at this juncture, was as impolitic as in any case it would have been wicked; nor is it any breach of charity to believe that, had he been faithful to his Protestant subjects, the Irish Papists would never have risen against their countrymen to murder them by thousands. They knew their king, and acted accordingly. But the king's greatest blunder was his attempt to avenge himself upon some refractory members of parliament, by impeaching them in the House of Lords, and then going in person to arrest them in the Commons. Friends and enemies are equally at fault in their attempts to account for this strange movement. Had his father been guilty of such an act, we should at once charge



it upon his ignorance and vanity; but Charles was not so ignorant as not to be aware of the high-handed usurpation of his proceedings, nor so vain as to expect to overawe parliament in this manner. The only rational conclusion is, that he was so intoxicated with rage at what to him appeared to be the insufferable insolence of parliament, in presuming to think and act contrary to his known wishes, that for awhile a delirium was upon him, and his actions in the mean time were only the ravings of a madman. This is the most charitable construction that the case will bear. Failing to apprehend the devoted victims of his wrath, he, by this act, gave them all the glories of martyrdom while they yet lived, not only as before to oppose his tyranny, but from the relation to himself, which he had given them, to seek his personal ruin. The parliament, too, seeing its privileges invaded in the persons of its members, felt bound to espouse their quarrel, and protect them against the king's vengeance.

In this state of exasperated feelings the leaders of the disaffected party in the Commons determined to present to the king the mass of the complaints in a grand remonstrance. This able state paper contained an enumeration of the chief grievances suffered by the kingdom during the present reign, and a petition for remedies and preventives for the future, which, together, contemplated very considerable changes both in church and state. Though called "an humble remonstrance," it was in reality a stern demand, so intended by its movers, so viewed by its opponents, and so received by the king. To grant it would have reduced the government to a constitutional monarchy, with the supreme power lodged with the two houses of parliament, approaching rather nearer to a proper commonwealth than was done at the revolution, nearly half a century later. When brought forward in the House of Commons, the remonstrance encountered the most stubborn opposition. The whole court party stood in an unbroken phalanx to oppose it, and to them were also joined many who had hitherto acted with the opposition, but were now alarmed at the extent to which they were proceeding. Though brought in at an early hour, the debates were continued till late at night, and when the vote was taken, it prevailed by no more than eleven voices, in a house of about three hundred; and as a considerable number were absent on account of the lateness of the hour, it was very doubtful whether a majority favored its passage. Whitelock compares it to the verdict of a starved jury; and Clarendon, as usual, with holy horror, wonders how these men, who "having assumed their country's trust, but by their negligence betrayed it, have answered it to their conscience and to Him who

can discern the conscience." The fate of the remonstrance was considered a test vote, and so fully did many consider the affairs of the kingdom to be involved in this measure, that Cromwell declared the next day, that had the decision been otherwise, he would have immediately sold all and left the kingdom; and that many more were of the same determination. But the time had not yet come for England to bow to the yoke of despotism; tyrants were first to learn that there are bounds to human patience, and that tardy justice may even in this world overtake the proud oppressor in the arrogance of his power.

Among the concessions made by Charles to the parliament was the sacrifice of that faithful minister of his tyranny, the earl of Strafford. The fate of that nobleman is a melancholy evidence of the uncertainty of human greatness, and an instructive lesson upon the faithlessness of princes. We purposely omit any notice of the regularity or irregularity of the proceedings against him, since whatever may be thought of the case by a mere lawyer, its general merits are easily determined. Whether the statutes reached his case or not, is unimportant; of the treasonableness of the whole course of the king and council since Strafford's advancement to the council table, there can be no doubt. And though it may be impolitic, and dangerous to personal liberty, to go beyond the letter of the law in visiting punishment upon offenders, the guilty victims of such a process have no right to complain, though justice overtakes them by an unusual way. We have, therefore, no other sympathy for Strafford in the fact of his execution, than for any other victim of his own lawless self-seeking. But when we remember that not only did his enemies determine on his ruin, but also when the royal assent was necessary to the consummation of their purpose, though he had been solemnly assured by his prince that not a hair of his head should be touched, that even that was not withheld,—then he appears as a victim of royal perfidy. False and traitorous he had indeed been, but not to his king; perfidy and arrogance had marked his course,—to Charles alone he had been faithful and obedient. Wherein the earl of Strafford differed from Sir Thomas Wentworth, he was the creature of the king, and though he richly merited his fate, yet not from that hand. Strafford was evidently taken by surprise when he found that his master had abandoned him to his enemies; for however much a man may see falsehood displayed toward another, he is slow to believe that its author who professes nothing but favor, will also, when interest demands it, become false to himself.

This affair is a perplexing one to the admirers of Charles, "the

blessed martyr," and of his faithful minister, the earl of Strafford. If the earl deserved his fate, it was only for obeying the king, who was the principal guilty person; if not, the king, equally with the parliament, was guilty of innocent blood. The plea that Strafford offered himself a sacrifice to popular violence for the welfare of the king and country, does not help the case; for, assuming that he was sincere, if it was magnanimous in him to make the offer, it was, to a still greater degree, mean and faithless in Charles to accept it. But the king never believed that his minister had reached a point of self-abandonment, that made him willing to die to prepare the way for a restoration of public quiet. Both of them well knew that he was not the principal obstacle to such a purpose, and that his death could not permanently advance the king's cause. But Charles desired to amuse the parliament with seeming concessions, without surrendering his power to tyrannize over the kingdom, and Strafford, leaning upon a broken reed, with apparent disinterestedness offered his life to his master's service. The exclamation of horror with which he greeted the announcement of the royal assent to the bill of attainder, indicates his surprise and his indignation at his master's falseness.

The transfer of the seat of war from the forum to the field was altogether favorable to Cromwell's personal advancement. In a deliberative body, embracing such a mass of intellectual greatness and parliamentary ability as the Long Parliament, he must always have remained below the highest grade; but when called to act, rather than to deliberate, his genius at once shone forth. His more intimate friends had not failed to detect his latent strength, and Hampden, who knew him well, and also knew much of human nature, remarked to Lord Digby on one occasion—when Cromwell was speaking—"That sloven, if we should ever come to a breach with the king, will be the greatest man in England." Southey remarks: "The man who most contributed to the king's utter overthrow by his actions, and the only man who, from the beginning, perceived wherein the strength of the king lay, and by what principle it might be opposed with the surest prospect of success, was Cromwell. During the proceedings which provoked the war, Cromwell took no conspicuous part, but he was one of the members upon whose votes the leaders of the disaffected party could always rely. He was sincerely a Puritan in his religious notions, in that respect more sincere than many with whom he then acted; as for political speculations, he probably cared less, but being a resolute man and one whose purposes were straightforward, . . . when he drew the sword he threw away the scabbard." At the breaking



out of the civil war he received a captain's commission with leave to raise a troop of horse, which he did from among the freeholders and sons of freeholders of his own county,—all of them men thoroughly imbued with his own principles. This troop, composed almost exclusively of religious men of Puritanical principles, united in themselves the chivalry of the middle ages and the scrupulous conscientiousness of primitive times. Their leader had chosen them, says Baxter, in view of their religious characters, not only because thereby they would be more serviceable as soldiers, but also and principally for his esteem for religious men. This troop was the nucleus of that resistless army which, nominally under Fairfax, but really under Cromwell, subdued the royal forces, and brought the kingdom first under the parliament, and then wresting it from them, gave it to their own commander. From a captain, Cromwell was soon advanced to the command of a regiment modeled by himself, and composed of fourteen full troops of cavalry, and soon after he was appointed to act as lieutenant-general in the army. The better to effect the religious order of his regiment, they were organized into a church, and the celebrated Mr. Baxter chosen their minister; a fact, by the way, which indicates pretty clearly the nature of the fanaticism, so frequently spoken of to their reproach. Fanatical churches seek fanatical preachers, and as this "church" desired Baxter, their fanaticism must have been kindred to his own! Though he approved of their cause as soldiers, Baxter was too rigid a Presbyterian to become the pastor of an Independent church, and therefore declined their invitation. Failing in this purpose, they fell back upon the simple modes of primitive times, and each commanding officer, as the father of a household, mingled praying and preaching with his other duties. The conduct and success of this body were such as their character would warrant one to expect. Such was their discipline and order, that, wherever they moved, they were greeted alike by people of all parties as protectors of their persons and property; while the royal army scourged friends and enemies with indiscriminate rapine.

The war was conducted in so irresolute and undecided a manner by the earl of Essex, that the royal cause constantly gained ground. That nobleman evidently still entertained a high regard for the royal cause and the person of the king, and sincerely desired an accommodation on easy terms for his royal master, to which he was more strongly impelled by his distrust of his own party, and by a decided hostility to the democratic tendencies of certain leading characters. It would have been easy to seize the king

and his retinue at Nottingham; but he suffered him to remain unmolested, and to depart at his own pleasure. In retiring from Nottingham the king was permitted to occupy the important town of Shrewsbury, by means of which he could command all North Wales. At the battle of Edge-hill, Essex appeared no less careful of the royal forces than of his own; and after the battle, when it was doubtful which party had the victory, he pursued a course which, had it been so intended, could not have more effectually given the king the appearance of a triumph. At that time the nobility were so full of superstitious reverence for royalty, that had not Charles found sterner materials in another quarter, his triumph would have been certain and easy. The spirit of the revolutionists, though then in action, was felt only as a leavening principle in the parliament, though finally it leavened the whole body, or expelled what could not be so affected; and, in the same way, the spirit of Cromwell at length pervaded the whole army.

While Essex with the main army was dallying with the king, who was rapidly rising in military importance, Cromwell was subduing to the interests of the parliament, not only Cambridge, whither he was sent to stop the deportation of the plate from the university which the king had demanded, but also all the surrounding country, together with the neighboring counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, dispersing the confederacies of the royalists, and seizing their stores. At the relief of Gainsborough, (July 23, 1643,) where he served as a colonel, he first experienced, under Lord Willoughby, the realities of battle. Here his troops rode down the flying forces of the enemy, and made sad havoc upon their ranks. This was the salient point of his military renown, which proved in the end his fortune and his ruin. He was engaged again the same year, under the earl of Manchester, when part of Newcastle's army was defeated near Horncastle. Here his horse was killed under him, and himself knocked down as he attempted to rise; he was, however, soon remounted, and found himself unhurt. Toward the close of this year he took Hillsdon-house, alarmed Oxford, the royal quarters, and finally joined the main army at Gloucester. With the opening of the next year, Essex, goaded by the complaints of his friends, and probably alarmed at the growing reputation of Cromwell, began to act with greater decision, and the war assumed a more vigorous character. At length the hostile armies met at Marston Moor,—the royal forces led by the earl of Newcastle, those of the parliament by Manchester; Prince Rupert led the cavalry of the former, and Cromwell that of the latter. The royal infantry carried everything before them, and Prince Rupert

charged like an avalanche with his cavalry; but lacking coolness and discipline, his troops pursued their flying enemies off the field, or stopped to pillage their baggage; while Cromwell's troops, uniting equal impetuosity with perfect coolness and complete discipline, bore down everything in their way, charging and rallying as the fortunes of the battle required.

The result of this battle gave a new aspect to affairs. The tide of fortune was turned against the royal arms; of which change Cromwell was so manifestly the cause, that he became an object at once of admiration and of envy. The nobility and aristocracy who were engaged against the king had no notion of effecting such a revolution as would in any considerable degree advance the influence of the people; they fought for their own aggrandizement, and would sooner have sustained the king in his usurpations than evoked the power of the people to subdue him. They, therefore, were not much pleased with a victory, which, while it gave them the mastery over the king, discovered to all parties that they were indebted for it, not to themselves, but to a more fearful rival than he whom they had defeated. A new feeling toward the king's cause and person now showed itself in the army. Hitherto the unsophisticated soldiers had been puzzled with the contradiction which appeared in all the public professions respecting the cause and purpose of the war. They were fighting for the king, and yet against the king; the war was undertaken for the safety and defense of the king's person, and yet they were discharging their fire-arms upon forces which guarded the king, and were commanded by him in person. But Cromwell had from the beginning pursued a different course. When enlisting his first troop, he informed them that "he would not perplex them with pledges to fight for king and parliament, but if the king chanced to be in the body of the enemy he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him as upon any private man." This spirit had rapidly spread itself, first among his own troops, and by degrees through the whole army. He now presumed to advance a little further; and so presently afterward took occasion to express his mind pretty freely to Manchester, in which conversation he assured him that he hoped soon to see the day when there would not be a single lord in all England, and when Lord Manchester would be called nothing more than Mr. Montague. A state of things had now come, for which the nobility were not prepared, and which they had not anticipated. They had evoked the spirit of liberty against the tyrant prince; and now having broken his power, they would fain have laid it to sleep again, that tyrant lords might not be molested; but they were



not the first magicians that found themselves unable to lay the spirits they had raised.

The belligerent forces fought again at Newbury, in the autumn of this year, when, after the rout of the royalists, Cromwell wished to bring things to a decided issue, by charging the king's forces in their retreat, which, on pretence of prudence, but more probably from ill-will to Cromwell and dread of his growing power, the earl would not permit. This brought on a rupture, and the rival chieftains mutually accused each other in parliament; Cromwell charged Manchester with betraying their cause through cowardice, and Manchester, Cromwell, with a design to overawe parliament with the army. This was a very ugly state of things for the parliament, and it tended not a little to widen the differences of their factions and to cause a mutual loss of confidence. The quarrel was at length smothered, as both parties feared to agitate it further, but the breach was not healed. A conspiracy, headed by the earl of Essex, and aided by Hollis and Stapleton, with the Scotch commissioners, was formed for the purpose of taking off Cromwell, if possible, and, if necessary, by almost any means. There was no want of zeal in the prosecutors, nor, indeed, of weight in the charges prepared to be brought against him; nor is there cause to suspect that testimony of some sort to sustain them could not have been obtained. But the whole affair ended as did the council of the mice, who met to consult on the expediency of putting a bell on the cat. The same cause that rendered him an object of their enmity, made him formidable as an enemy.

The contentions of the principal officers of the army, the divided counsels of the two houses, and the discontents of the people at seeing the chief offices held by members of parliament, conspired to demand a thorough revision and reformation of affairs. Accordingly the famous "Self-denying Ordinance," by which it was decreed that no member of either house should hold any office, civil or military, under the parliament, was brought forward and adopted. Essex, Manchester, and Cromwell were thus deprived of their commissions, and they returned to their places in parliament, while the command of the army was given to Sir Thomas Fairfax, a man of moderate parts, though a good soldier, and a decided friend to Cromwell; to whom was also given the privilege of nominating his own subordinate officers. When Fairfax had assumed his command, feeling the want of experienced assistants, and especially of a skillful master of the horse, he requested that the Self-denying Ordinance might be dispensed with in the case of Oliver Cromwell, and that he might be appointed lieutenant-

general, and have command of the cavalry; and, strange to say, his request was granted, first for a limited time, and afterward indefinitely. This Self-denying Ordinance is among the most unaccountable affairs of that age of strange things. Who originated it? for what end was it devised? how were rival factions persuaded to unite in its support? why did selfish and ambitious men adopt a measure which had the appearance of self-denial, and which evidently proved such to most of them? These are questions which probably will never be satisfactorily answered. If we might venture a conjecture, we should guess that it originated with the levelers, who are known to have been fruitful of expedients, and were confident of their own powers; that Cromwell and his friends favored it, since, by the elevation of Fairfax, the army would be delivered from the vacillating policy of Essex and Manchester; and that the aristocratic faction gave it their support, either to ruin the army, and thus defeat their own cause against the king, or else to degrade Cromwell, and so rid the army of his influence. Cromwell may have also suspected, that he would be so loudly called for by the voice of the soldiers as well as by the state of affairs, that he would by some means soon find his way back to the army; for this was evidently the only situation that afforded any adequate prospect to the ambition which, doubtless, had now become a ruling principle with him. But if the adoption of the Self-denying Ordinance is unaccountable, much more so is its suspension in the case of Cromwell; and this itself proves that a majority of the parliament were already in his interests, and heartily tired of the undecided policy of the late noble commanders. The new-modeled army was like a perfectly-constructed machine, capable of powerful action, but in the absence of Cromwell inefficient, as wanting the *primum mobile*; but when he was placed so near its centre of motion as to direct all its movements, it excelled in efficiency the most sanguine hopes of its friends. His spirit seemed to burn in every breast, inspiring each with his own zeal, energy, and love of order. Their discipline was perfect, and their prowess irresistible. In the west, where hitherto the royal arms had uniformly triumphed, the tide of war was turned back, the king's forces defeated, and by the recovery of Shrewsbury, all Wales brought back to the cause of the parliament. They next marched into the north, where the king commanded in person, having about him the strength and flower of his army. The battle of Naseby decided the fortunes of the war; the king's forces were routed, and vast numbers made prisoners; the king himself narrowly escaped, leaving his cabinet a prize to the victors. This

was followed by a rapid and brilliant series of victories. Bristol, Devizes, Winchester, and many other places of greater or less importance, surrendered to Fairfax and Cromwell. Subsequently, Prince Charles and Lord Hopton were defeated at Torrington, and soon after the last hope of the royal cause was extinguished by the overthrow and death of Lord Astley. So fully sensible was that nobleman of the ruined condition of the king's affairs, that when he saw the battle was lost, he exclaimed, as though addressing the victors, "You have done your work, and may now go to play, unless you choose to fall out among yourselves." The result of the battle of Naseby satisfied Charles that his cause was hopeless in the field, and he soon began to think of other means of helping his falling fortunes. He would have renewed his negotiations with the parliament had he hoped to obtain from them terms that he could accept; but he chose rather to risk the loss of his crown than to wear it shorn of the prerogatives which had served as the shield of his tyranny. But when every other hope failed him, he was still comforted by his faith; for when Prince Rupert reminded him of the ruinous state of his affairs, and advised an accommodation with the parliament, he confessed that, as a mere soldier or statesman, he saw no probability of success; "but as a Christian," he added, "I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels to prosper, or his cause to be overthrown"—so *piously* did this proud tyrant trust in the divine protection in the midst of the evils into which he had thrown himself by his high-handed oppressions. There are few more striking instances of the fact stated in the proverb: Whom God would ruin, he first makes mad. As a last and forlorn hope, the king resolved to give himself up to the Scots army, then before Newark, which he did without any other pledge for his safety than their own loyalty. The Scots, alarmed at the possession of a prize so little expected, wrote a deprecatory letter to the parliament, declaring that they had given the king no cause to suspect their fidelity to the two houses, according to the "Solemn League and Covenant."

The sudden termination of the war left the affairs of the kingdom in an anomalous condition. The royal army was little better than annihilated,—the king himself a prisoner,—the Scots lay idle in their quarters, while the parliamentary army under Fairfax and Cromwell held the nation in quiet subjection. The Scots wished to return home, but two difficulties interposed,—their pay was in arrears, and they knew not how to dispose of their prisoner. As to the king, as the Scots were in the service of the parliament when he was taken, he seemed properly to belong to them; and,



therefore, should have been delivered up to them at once, especially as it was his expressed wish that that should be done. The Scots, however, resolved to retain him as a hostage until their arrears should be paid; he was, therefore, taken back with them and lodged at Edinburgh. It was at length agreed that the Scots should receive one-half of their arrears (£200,000) in cash, and the balance at a future time; and they, in return, gave up the king to the English parliament. This is the famous "*sale* of their king," with which the English court party have so vehemently reproached the Scots; and, indeed, it were worthy of all censure if they intended to betray their king into the hands of the enemies of the peace and welfare of the nation. But if their purpose was to compose the disorders of the kingdoms, which they presumed could best be effected by perfecting the designs of the parliament, it was right to aid them in so doing. Charles had become dangerous to the commonwealth, and was, therefore, to be treated as a common enemy, and when in the power of the friends of good order, was to be restrained from doing harm. The Scots did not *sell* the king, for they received nothing from the parliament but what was already due to them; at most they only made use of their power to bring the parliament to their duty. While at Holmby House, whither the commissioners (of whom Cromwell was one) conveyed their royal prisoner, he was treated with much deference, and allowed every privilege that he asked, except the presence and services of his chaplains. Bigotry was the ruling principle of both parties; the Puritans denied the king a privilege now esteemed sacred to even the worst of criminals, and he, in turn, would not permit the services of the Presbyterians, even in saying grace at meals. In this melancholy captivity all the strangely-contradictory elements of the king's character were brought into exercise. He considered himself a martyr in the cause of God—for such he esteemed that of his own tyranny—and was forcibly reminded of the likeness of his own case to his Saviour's, when betrayed and sold; and he expressed great self-abasement at the recollection of the comparative greatness of his own price. At the same time, with his usual faithlessness, he was treating with both the parliament and the army, and with each to the prejudice of the other; for even in these desperate circumstances he still hoped to regain his authority through the strifes of his enemies,—a hope which probably would have been realized but for the controlling influence of one master mind. Cromwell had not only read the king's character in all his actions, which proved him unworthy of confidence in any case, but by means of the capture of his cabinet at

the battle of Naseby, he was put in possession of letters and private papers which clearly discovered an extent of perfidy hitherto unsuspected. From that day there is cause to believe Cromwell no longer hoped for an accommodation with the king, and without his concurrence none could be effected. This conjecture will serve as a key to explain some other movements of that far-seeing politician.

When the parliament had no further use for the army, they desired to be rid of them, both to avoid the expense of their maintenance, and also to be freed from their dangerous power; but the army knew their own strength, and were not in haste to lose it. They required, before consenting to be disbanded, that their arrears should be paid, and that full provision should be made for liberty of conscience. The latter was with them a capital consideration, and very necessary to be secured while they had power to demand it; for they had but little ground to hope for liberality from the bigots who ruled in parliament. After the league with the Scots, the parliamentary party had gone entirely over to the Presbyterian interest, and soon became as intolerant in its favor as was Laud for his adored episcopacy. But in the army the spirit of independence prevailed, and religious enthusiasm, having been left unrestrained and without proper direction, first bred a fanaticism, which presently brought forth a multitude of sects. The Presbyterians were intent on uniformity, and insisted on the obligation of the magistrates to enforce it; the sects asked only the privilege of enjoying their own worship and religious faith. This gave rise to new parties, which again plunged the nation into a civil war; and in the end transferred the sovereign power from the parliament to the army. The parliament granted the arrears to the army, and commanded them to disband. Incensed at this proceeding, the army petitioned them to change their determination upon that matter; and as things then stood, a petition from the army was rather an ugly affair. The parliament, though alarmed, determined to assert their authority, and to humble the pride of the soldiery. During these occurrences Cromwell was in his seat in the House of Commons, and is said to have spoken against some things from the army. He was, however, suspected to be at the bottom of all these difficulties; and it was, therefore, secretly determined to commit him to the Tower; but he had information of the design, and on the very day when it was to have been carried into effect, he left London and returned to the army.

A second crisis was now come. The parliament had used the army to break the power of the king, and free the nation of his

tyranny ; but when this was done, they began themselves to exercise scarcely less tyranny, not seeming to suspect that the same hand that had reduced the king, could at pleasure reduce them also. The same day that Cromwell left London, the king was taken from Holmby House, by a sergeant, and brought to the army. This abduction of the royal person is among the unexplained mysteries of the times. When the sergeant's warrant for the removal of the king was demanded by the keepers, he showed them his pistol, after which they did not question his authority. Cromwell has been supposed to be the instigator of this bold movement, and his daring and intriguing character would render such a supposition probable, were it not that no other proof of it has ever been discovered. There were, however, other daring spirits in the army, who had quite as little regard for the king's person as the lieutenant-general ; but if he did not devise the plan, he readily availed himself of the advantages it afforded. Charles was pleased with the change ; for, though still a prisoner, he was treated with great consideration, and allowed the services of his chaplains and servants ; and here his sanguine spirit again found room for hope of better days. He commended the valor and gallantry of the soldiers, and expressed a wish that he might never want the support of such men, in such a peace as might be alike profitable to them and himself. Probably at this juncture Charles would have made a peace with the army on very favorable terms, and as they would have still had him in their power, they could have insured its observance ; nor is it unlikely that, on such conditions, Cromwell would have willingly availed himself of the shadow of the regal power to sustain his own ambitious purposes ; but there were others who not only distrusted the king, but also hated the very name of royalty.

The character of the negotiations between Cromwell and Ireton on the one part, and the king on the other, cannot now be determined. The demands, said to have been made for himself by Cromwell, to wit—the garter, the earldom of Essex, to be made vicar-general of the kingdom, and first captain of the guards—are worthy of the man ; for evidently in such a state of things he would have been not only the first subject in the kingdom, but also the guardian of the king himself. No doubt, anything that might have been demanded for their personal aggrandizement would have been granted, if only to gain time and fitting opportunity to sacrifice them ; but when to these were added demands for such reforms in church and state, as would secure the rights of conscience and the personal liberties of the people, Charles would not yield them ;—



a tyrant at heart, he would not agree to be the king of freemen. Cromwell was ambitious, but his ambition was subservient to the public welfare; Charles loved his regal state, but he would not enjoy it dissevered from the power to oppress his subjects. The king by seeming concessions, and by promises, made to be broken, drew out the negotiations for several months, hoping that the strifes between the army and the parliament would enable him to become arbiter between them, and so give laws to both; and at the same time he was proposing terms and negotiating treaties with the parliament and the Scots. About this time a private letter from the king to the queen was intercepted, in which, writing about the proposed accommodation with the army, he assured her that she "need have no fears that he would concede too much, for in due time he would know how to deal with the rogues, who, instead of a *silken garter*, should be fitted with a *hempen cord*." This put an end to the negotiations; Cromwell withdrew his parole of honor from the king's person, and informed him that he could no longer be answerable for his safety.

It is very doubtful, had Charles entered heartily into the measures said to have been proposed by Cromwell and Ireton, whether they could have been consummated. The old nobility would have been offended at the sudden elevation to such pre-eminence of a family hitherto unknown at court, and that too as the price of successful rebellion; and probably many who had been steadfast in their adhesion to the royal cause would have gone over to the interests of the parliament. Such an event, however, would not have been much cause of alarm, had the army favored the measure; for against their united efforts all the kingdom could not make a successful stand. But it was in the army that the most violent opposition to such a course was found, nor could Cromwell with all his influence either have persuaded or coerced them into an adoption of such a measure. "His," says Southey, "was a revolutionary power, not transferable without great diminution. In the movements of the revolutionary sphere his star was rising, but it was not yet lord of the ascendant; and in raising himself to his present station, he had conjured up stronger spirits than he was able to control. Had he espoused the king's cause heartily and honestly, the very men upon whom his power rested would have turned against him, and pursued him with as murderous a hatred as that which Pym had avowed against Strafford, and had gratified in his blood."

When left alone at Hampton Court, Charles adopted a course worthy of his character; he fled panic-struck, disguised as a servant, with his hair cut off, having only two attendants, and wan-

dering about for some time, was at length lodged, in a character between prince and prisoner, in the Isle of Wight. The blame of this false step, as well as most others committed by that unhappy monarch, has been charged to Cromwell. It is somewhat strange how they who make these charges can still be so eloquent in praise of the king's prudence, courage, and personal greatness; for how could such a man be the continual sport of other men's fears and fancies? To these advocates of the king's reputation, Milton replies most justly: "Charles is persuaded; Charles is imposed on; Charles is deceived; fear is impressed on him; vain hope is set before him; Charles is hurried and carried about as if he were the common prey of all, both friends and enemies. But let them either blot these things out of their writings, or else give over their trumpeting up the sagacity of Charles." It is difficult to form an opinion upon a disputed subject occurring at this time. Such was the violence of party strifes—the depth of intrigue, and the prevalence of untruth—that even time has failed in many cases to unravel the tangled meshes of the web of truth and falsehood. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that Charles, alarmed without cause, or with real danger from the levelers of the army, fled panic-struck he knew not whither, and having gone to the Isle of Wight, hoping to escape thence out of the kingdom, was there made prisoner; and on the other hand, it is equally probable that Cromwell purposely promoted his fears, and directed the course of his flight, that he might quit the kingdom unharmed, and so save them the odious task of putting him to death. Both suppositions agree with the characters of the persons concerned, and both may be true.

The successful resistance of the army to the orders of parliament was not forgotten, and as Cromwell was now confessedly at the bottom of the whole difficulty, it was determined by his enemies to bring him to condign punishment. He was accordingly accused in the House of Lords of instigating the army to disobey and resist the parliament, and of conspiring to restore the king by the power of the soldiery. The truth or untruth of this charge is of little importance, either as a matter of history, or as a clew to the character and designs of Cromwell. But the charge came to nothing, for the sufficient reason that his party was then in the majority, and also, because the parliament had need of him to protect them against the royalists. The cavaliers were in arms in various parts of the kingdom, and the Scots had crossed the border to avenge the cause of their king, against whom they had fought, and whom they had delivered into the hands of the parliament. Cromwell was, therefore,

too much needed to be found guilty of any high crime, even had his friends been fewer than they were.

The success of the expedition that followed filled the measure of his military glory. The army first marched into Wales, and soon restored all to order in that direction. They then turned to the north to oppose the Scots and such royalists as had joined them since they had crossed the border; but Fairfax, whom Southey describes as having "a sort of piebald Presbyterian conscience, which strained at a gnat, after having bolted so many camels," refused to bear arms against his old allies. But Cromwell had no such scruples, for he both hated the Scots for their treachery and despised them for their pusillanimity; and so, having at his own command a force amounting to about one-third of that of the enemy, with these he marched onward to meet them. The result was as usual when he met his enemies in the field. The English royalists were overcome by superior skill and discipline, while the Scots fled, leaving them to their fate. But they did not escape with impunity, for the victors pursued them in their retreat, routing and cutting them in pieces, until they came to Edinburgh, where Cromwell was received with honors little short of those commonly paid to royalty.

A decisive issue to this campaign was not desired by the Presbyterian party in parliament. Had the cavaliers prevailed, they had nothing to expect but to die as traitors and rebels, and now that their own army had completely triumphed, they found themselves little better than prisoners. Dreading the power and spirit of the army, and judging that the king would now yield to their terms, they renewed their treaty with him, which was rapidly advancing to maturity, when the army, finding themselves disregarded in its provisions, interrupted its further progress. The "sects" found they had changed masters rather than obtained freedom; episcopacy was abolished to give place to the equally-insufferable tyranny of presbytery; the Common Prayer was taken away to be replaced by the Directory; and *jure divino*, which is only another name for an assumed right to tyrannize, was taken from a smaller and given to a larger number of vampyres. Another crisis in the revolutionary orbit had arrived, and it remained to be seen whether the hearts that had dared to resist the authority of the king, would now cower to a less legitimate but equally-oppressive tyranny. Though we approve of the course pursued by the parliament in resisting the king, it is not because it was legitimate, but because revolutionary measures were demanded to correct intolerable abuses; so we do not attempt to justify the army by any special pleading, or legal subtleties, but only say, that having found tyranny in new hands, it



was their duty there to resist it. The army was not merely a set of mercenaries who followed arms as a profession, and fought for their bread; they were English freemen, who had thoughts in their heads and feelings in their hearts, as well as sinews in their arms. They had taken up arms in defense of their rights,—they had fought for the enfranchisement of the nation. The same principles that attached them to the parliament against the king, now constrained them to turn against their former masters. As to the manner in which this was done, we have only to say, that it is much easier to find faults in the quiet of speculation, than in the tumults of political convulsions to avoid them. The facts in the case are known. The army took possession of the House of Commons, purged it of the obnoxious members, and compelled the rest to do and undo at their bidding.

It almost provokes a smile to listen to the lugubrious ravings of the disappointed Presbyterians, when they found that the army would not consent to be their slaves. "They now thunder upon us," says Hollis, "with remonstrances, declarations, letters, and messages every day, commanding one day one thing and the next day another, making us vote and unvote, do and undo; and when they had made us do some ugly thing, jeer us, and say that our doing justifies their desiring it." "All was dashed," he continues in another place; "instead of a generous resistance to the insolence of perfidious servants, vindicating the honor of the parliament, discharging the trust that lay upon them to preserve a poor people from being ruined and enslaved to a rebellious army, they deliver up themselves and kingdom to the will of their enemies, prostitute all to the lust of heady and violent men, and suffer Mr. Cromwell to saddle, ride, switch and spur them at his pleasure." The tables were now turned; for as the same writer remarks again, "Presbyterians were trumps no longer;" and had not their own condition been too low to admit of it, the royalists would have enjoyed the scene richly. Southey, who hated both the parliament and the army with unmitigated hatred, treats the poor Presbyterians in real cavalier style: "As the question stood between the parliament and the army," says he, "the army was right. Whatever arguments held good for resisting the king availed, *a fortiori*, for resisting the parliament; its little finger was heavier than his loins; and where the old authorities had used a whip, the parliament had scourged the nation with scorpions. New presbyter was old priest written large—and in blacker characters. Cromwell had force of reason as well as force of arms on his side."

But the supreme power proved a troublesome acquisition to its

new possessors, and a different disposition of affairs was demanded. Some were for maintaining the forms of monarchy, by retaining the king to be used as a puppet to a council appointed by his keepers, or else by proclaiming the young duke of Gloucester king; but others were in favor of a total extirpation of monarchy. In the turbulent counsels of the occasion the most violent prevailed. It was determined to bring the king to trial for treason, before a court created for the purpose; and accordingly he was tried, found guilty, condemned and executed.

The fact that these things were done under Cromwell's eye, and with his concurrence, is sufficient evidence that he was a principal agent in their accomplishment, though it does not prove that of his own judgment he approved of the course taken. At this time, he was a leader in whatever he undertook; but he had the skill to fall in with any current that became too strong to be resisted, and so to turn it to his own advantage. The king's death being resolved on, it required all his tact and management to effect that purpose: he rallied the timid, frowned upon the scrupulous, and by his own unshaken firmness confirmed the purposes of the wavering, and yet little more than one half of the judges named for the trial could be brought to sign the warrant for the king's execution. Much has been said about the horrible wickedness of this act of putting the king to death; but without making any pretensions to an acquaintance with the ethics of legalized murders and justifiable homicides, we confess we have no sympathy with the morbid sentimentalism which whines in lachrymose terms about the baseness of this act, but applauds to heaven with the same breath the men whose hands are stained with blood, shed tenfold more wickedly. We can see no particular atrocity in taking off a king's head, to effect a purpose for which it would be right to sacrifice the life of another man. Charles undoubtedly deserved all that he suffered, and therefore neither he nor his partisans had any right to complain that injustice was done to his person. But when we inquire for the authority by which the predominant faction acted, their case is not so clear. So far as the laws of the realm were concerned, every step they took in the premises was manifestly illegal. "The king can do no wrong," is a fundamental maxim of English law; and were this left unheeded, as in fact it is untrue, still there was no power to try him, while king: for the same law guaranties to every man a trial by his peers; and as the king had no peers, he could not be tried, for want of a competent tribunal. But waiving all these objections, which, indeed, are irrelevant in this case—for the established order of things was at an end, and only the original laws of society pre-

vailed—still, according to their own declarations, the dominant faction had no right to proceed as they did. If, as they declared, the people are the only source of power, and their representatives the only depositaries of governmental authority, their claims were invalid, since their constituents had never clothed them with the power they were exercising. The better course for them would be to say that it was a time of general confusion, when a portion of the House of Commons and the officers of the army, finding themselves the masters of the country, adopted measures which to them appeared most likely to settle the disorders of the nation, and to restore the public quiet. It is useless to speculate upon the legality or regularity of proceedings at such times: disorder is generally a necessary accompaniment of revolutions; indeed, the difference between a rebellion and a revolution consists wholly in the difference of their results. In all revolutions a faction first assumes the supreme power, and then, by subduing all opposing factions, it becomes the government *de facto*, which is a much safer and a more intelligible title than one *de jure*. So in this case, a faction began thus to prosecute its purposes, and to adopt means to secure the power it had assumed. All this may seem very irregular to a strict legitimatist, yet few governments can boast of a more legitimate origin.

There are many reasons why, as a matter of policy, the king's life should have been spared; and yet we cannot avoid the conviction that the cause of civil liberty is greatly indebted to the act of putting him to death. Among the reasons of policy against it, a principal one is the prejudice of the nation in favor of monarchy, and a greater still is found in their superstitious reverence for the royal person. In the army this sentiment had been extirpated; but it was still powerfully active among all classes of the people. With them the legal fiction that "the king can do no wrong," was a real sentiment, if not an opinion; and therefore they viewed his execution as a most atrocious crime, calling loudly for vengeance upon its perpetrators. It is but reasonable to suppose that the royal cause was strengthened in the affections of the nation, and that of the revolutionists proportionably weakened, by the execution of the king. Another difficulty was, that the death of Charles I. made the prince of Wales king of England, and transferred the allegiance of all loyal subjects from the father to the son. Instead of a prisoner in the hands of his victorious enemies, the regicides were at once called to oppose a king at liberty and beyond their reach. The faults of the father, which had alienated the affections of the nation from his government, died with him, and the son inherited the



crown without the blemishes that tarnished its lustre while upon the head of his father. These circumstances were evidently unpropitious to the cause of the army, and tended in no small degree to sink their interests among all ranks of persons.

But it should be remembered that Charles had always shown himself the most impracticable of princes ; and that it is far from being certain that he could have been used as the mere instrument of other men's wills,—that Cromwell, and Ireton, and Ludlow, and their associates, could have had everything to their wishes, under the royal signet. Charles was too great a man, and of quite too obstinate a temper, to become a mere nominal king for the accommodation of his capital enemies. The intrinsic qualities of his mind were greater obstacles to such a course than his arbitrary maxims of government ; and Cromwell, had he attempted it, would have found him an exceedingly perverse automaton. And had the case been otherwise, had the king become the supple tool of the leaders of the army, wherein would either Cromwell or the nation have profited by it ? For himself he acquired all that his ambition aspired to, and though he failed to fix it firmly upon his family, he did quite as much toward that purpose as he could have done had Charles I. been the nominal king of England at his death ; and for the nation he effected all the good they were susceptible of, and probably much more than he could have done in the name of the king. Had Charles succumbed to his dictation, Cromwell might have been the first lord in the kingdom, so long as his own power was sufficient to control the king ; but whoever supposes that he could have transmitted his honors to his son, must be little acquainted with the characters of Charles I. and Richard Cromwell. The British nation was then unfit to appreciate or maintain such a government as the commonwealth-men required, and such as no doubt Cromwell purposed finally to establish. A generation, bred to the forms and sentiments of slaves and despots, needed to give place to one educated for freemen. He that is bred the subject of a despotic government, may hate the despotism that binds him, but he is still a slave at heart ; and seldom does a change of circumstances effect a happy change in the man. Could Cromwell have outlived his own generation, and seen another reared under the happy influences of his own wise administration, to all human appearances, he would have left the nation the happiest and best-constituted commonwealth that ever was known. But such favors were not yet prepared for the three kingdoms ; England was doomed for another generation to bear the curse of the most perverse and the most imbecile race of kings that ever disgraced the name since

Sardanapalus; and to be scourged by a vicious, purse-proud, intolerant hierarchy, till the Lord only knows when; and Scotland was again to throw herself into the arms of her kirk and her lairds; and Ireland, poor Ireland! had not sufficiently expiated the blood of the Protestants which still cried to heaven for vengeance, though the sword of the destroyer had become drunk with the slaughter of her children. No part of the British empire was so great a loser in the death of the Protector as Ireland; nowhere else were the beneficent influences of his administration so extensively manifested. While Cromwell lived there was no need of the shadow of regal power, which might have been cast by a prisoner-king; and dying as he did, before the happy effects of his measures were matured in the character of the people, no combination of existing circumstances could have saved the nation from relapsing into despotism.

But viewed in relation to the cause of civil liberty generally, the execution of Charles was a measure pregnant with much good. Crowned heads were to be taught that though their hearts may be of stone, their necks are not of iron;—that they are not a privileged order, whose offenses, however aggravated, enjoy a perfect immunity from punishment. It was necessary that this great truth should be legibly written and loudly proclaimed, and this could best be done with the blood of a king, and by the crashing fall of the institutions of royalty. The lesson has not been lost; England especially has profited by it. Though the restoration of the Stuarts brought back their madness, yet they found the spell of the enchanter broken, and kings reduced to “crowned men;” and though they themselves could not be made good kings, the remembrance of the father’s death drove the guilty son from his throne and kingdom, and the nation reaped in the revolution the harvest that was sown in the rebellion.

We have not the room to pursue our subject through its subsequent course; nor need we, since what has been already noticed is sufficient to illustrate the nature of our theme. Cromwell’s subsequent course was perfectly consistent with his past conduct. He reduced the malcontents of the army with the same fearless promptitude that had distinguished his proceedings against others, and while, by personal authority, he controlled the soldiery, by means of them he held the entire nation in obedience to his will. A provisional government was formed in which his own power seemed inconsiderable, but where, in fact, his influence was predominant, by which a good degree of quiet was restored to England.

The long-deferred purpose of chastising the rebels of Ireland, and

reducing that island to obedience, was now undertaken in good earnest. Such a service was precisely suited to the spirit of Cromwell, who was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and with the flower of his army departed to that devoted kingdom. The impotent malice of his enemies in and about the parliament is nowhere more fully manifest than in their haste to send him into Ireland, whither he went to certain victory, and whence he was sure to return with increased power to dictate terms to themselves. When he arrived, Dublin was the only place still held by the parliament's forces, and that had long suffered a close siege by the forces of the marquis of Ormond, but had just then been relieved by a brisk sally from the garrison. With his usual celerity Cromwell hastened to attack Drogheda, where a large garrison of the enemy's best troops lay. Disdaining the slow process of a siege, he advanced immediately to the assault, and though stubbornly resisted, took the place and put all within it to the sword. This severity was part and parcel of his system of politic calculations, rather than any ebullition of feeling. He had no pleasure in shedding blood, but could balance an account of lives with all the coolness that a merchant calculates his dollars and cents; and as he viewed the entire Irish nation as a set of outlaws justly meriting the severest punishments, he was at liberty to kill and spare as policy might dictate. He therefore selected this garrison as victims to public justice, that their fate might carry terror to other places, and so the conquest be effected at less expense of lives than could be done by other means. We confess our unfitness to enter into such a calculation, though we cannot see why this should be thought more inhuman than to kill many more in the usual way of carrying on the trade of murder. There are certain artificial rules of war, within which it is accounted honorable to kill, but beyond which killing is murder, which rules have no other authority than fashion; but Cromwell knew nothing of them, and when he fought it was not because war was his trade, but for victory, and peace the fruits of victory. The massacre at Drogheda accomplished its purpose. Little resistance was made to the progress of the conqueror, and in less than six months the whole island was reduced to obedience to the new government.

While Cromwell was employed in these transactions, the state of affairs in England demanded his return. After the death of the late king, the Scots had made a treaty with the prince of Wales, by which he had been received as their king. Charles II. was then with his Scottish subjects projecting an expedition against the English; but it was determined on the other part not to wait for



such a movement, but to carry the war into Scotland. Cromwell led his forces against them, and, by a rapid series of victories, completely ruined the young king's cause in both kingdoms. After the battle of Worcester, Charles wandered, an outcast and an outlaw, without means or friends, compelled, like Nebuchadnezzar, to feed and rest with the beasts of the field. In this forlorn condition he experienced such providential deliverances as prove that the Almighty is with them who know him not,—deliverances which might have taught the vagrant prince a lesson that he never learned; till at last he escaped from his country, a beggared exile, and took refuge in France. Cromwell styled this last victory "*a crowning mercy*," which Southey thinks he may have done using the expression in a sense between a "*pun and a prophecy*." It is highly probable that at that time his ambitious purposes were to a good degree matured, and that he began to feel that it was the intention of divine Providence to advance him to the throne, as David was made king over Israel. Here was Cromwell's capital blunder, in mistaking success for indubitable evidence of divine favor.

The battle of Worcester, by destroying the last hopes of his enemies, terminated Cromwell's military career; thenceforward he was occupied with endeavors to settle the affairs of the distracted commonwealth. The fragment of the House of Commons were his instruments, kept in their places while it suited him to have them there, and expelled at the point of the bayonet when no longer needed. In the struggle against royal and parliamentary usurpations, the pre-existing institutions of the country had been overthrown, so that now there remained no other organized government than the army, which circumstance placed the supreme power in the hands of the military commander. Cromwell conceived himself to be no more than the instrument of Providence, and interpreted the state things had assumed, as an indication of the will of Heaven that he should use the power given him in restoring peace and good government to his afflicted country. Such were his own professions, and there is no good grounds to doubt that his enthusiasm still had much to do with his ambition; he therefore assumed the direction of the affairs of the nation as a religious duty.

His administration was a continual exercise of arbitrary power, yet its energy, justice, and moderation commended it to all whose prejudices had not blinded their understandings. His provisional governments and councils of his own creation were but the forms in which he chose to put forth his power; nor were his parliaments other than advisory assemblies, whose power was derived from

himself and resumed by him again at his pleasure. All parties acknowledge the unequalled energy of his government, and few have been found to impeach its general equity, though there are some instances of violence, which his best friends attempt to excuse only by pleading the necessity of the times. At no other time has the British nation been so terrible in war, or so powerful in peace, as it was during the Protectorate; for though wars were carried on with the greatest maritime powers of Europe, no foreign foe trod British soil during that period, while Penn, Venables, and Blake spread the terror of the flag of the commonwealth over all seas. Nor was the glory of his own country the only care of the Protector. Though elevated to an equality of rank with the first monarchs of Europe, he was still a Protestant and a Puritan; and he who, when a private gentleman, had attended bishops' courts to see justice rendered to the persecuted, with singular consistency, still cared for those who were suffering from religious tyranny. A brutal persecution having been decreed and partly executed by the duke of Savoy against his Protestant subjects in the valley of Piedmont, Cromwell took vigorous measures to stay the hand of violence, and to relieve the victims of persecution. An ambassador was sent to the duke to express the Protector's wish that the persecution of the Vaudois might cease, and such was his authority even at that distance, that his wish was granted. A voluntary contribution was also made throughout the commonwealth, for the relief of those who had been driven from their homes before the persecution ceased, which amounted to nearly £40,000, of which Cromwell gave two thousand from his private estate.

In the domestic affairs of the government he played the king with admirable grace. His personal appearance had undergone a great change since he first appeared in the Long Parliament, so that he had become imposing in form, dignified in manner, and of a courtly address. His court combined a good degree of state and pomp with the strictest sobriety, temperance, and good order. His council embraced persons of distinguished learning and unimpeachable virtue; and the benches of the courts of justice were filled with individuals chosen for their wisdom and integrity, without respect to parties. The celebrated Matthew Hale, though an invincible royalist, was first invested with the ermine by the Protector, and in Scotland the father of Bishop Burnet was made a judge, on account of his personal fitness for the office, though he declined subscription and allegiance to Cromwell. He was also a great patron of learning, and both by private munificence and public favors greatly assisted in recovering the universities from their

lapsed condition. Learned men found in him a firm and steady friend and supporter, whatever might be their political affections. Toward the royalists, especially the nobility, his course was marked by kindness and a freedom which manifested at once his confidence in his own power, and his wish to conciliate their favor. In religious affairs he generally, though not always, pursued a like liberal course. He was not a bigot himself, and probably would have gladly granted a universal toleration; but such was the active hostility of the Episcopal party, especially the clergy, that he refused them that liberty which was granted to other sects. That most of them deserved all they received of Cromwell is probable; still it was both unjust and impolitic to make their religious profession a civil offense. The only mitigation of our censure of this unjust severity is drawn from a consideration of the spirit of the age and the malignity of the proscribed party.

The effects of Cromwell's administration at home were most happy. Notwithstanding the violence of faction, there were quiet and domestic prosperity throughout England, and a rapid advancement in the character and condition of the masses. In Scotland he ruled with a strong hand, but with equally-favorable effects. Even Clarendon is compelled to acknowledge the practical benefits of his government in that kingdom, and he declares of his lieutenant for the north, that, "as he was feared by the nobility and hated by the clergy, so he was not unloved by the common people, who received more justice and less oppression from him than they had been accustomed to under their own lords." The course pursued toward the Irish was more severe, but equally salutary in its consequences. They were an outlawed race, and probably as well worthy to be treated as such as any since the destruction of the Canaanites. But Cromwell punished to reform, and in this case his chastisements did not fail of their purpose. An enemy confesses, that "under the order which he established, if it had continued for another generation, the island would have been in a better state than any which its authentic history has yet recorded; for there, as in Scotland, a more equable administration was introduced, than that which had been destroyed."

But while the Protector was thus successfully employed in healing the wounds of a bleeding nation, he was not sustained by any of the factions of the times; for royalists, parliamentarians, republicans, and fifth-monarchy-men agreed only to hate and resist the existing government. Most of the people, however, cared less about who should rule, than that they might enjoy the blessings of peace and good government, and therefore acquiesced in the present arrange-



ment, and gave it their tacit support; meanwhile Cromwell's individual influence was more than a match for all the power of his enemies. But what was worst of all, he was ill-supported by his own family. His wife desired above all things an accommodation with the royal family, and his eldest son and one or two of his daughters are supposed to have been of the same sentiments. Ireton, and, after his death, Fleetwood, his sons-in-law, were staunch republicans, and acted with their father-in-law only as constrained by his controlling persuasions. In Henry Cromwell alone was seen his father's image and spirit, and he only gave a hearty and vigorous support to the Protector's administration; and to all human appearances, had the father lived ten years longer and that son been his successor, the three kingdoms would have been saved from the second plague of the Stuarts.

But while occupied with the perplexing affairs of an unsettled government, he was arrested by death in the midst of his plans and purposes. He died on the 3d of September, 1658, when he had held the supreme power less than five years, and before he had given that stability to his affairs that was necessary to insure their perpetuity. His death was far from being happy. In early life and among the shades of domestic privacy he had been made a subject of converting grace, but while asserting and defending his religious privileges he had rapidly risen in political consequence till he had reached the giddy height of absolute dominion. Few experienced Christians can endure preferment without spiritual loss, and Cromwell's case is not an exception to this general rule. His thoughts and prayers upon his death-bed related rather to the kingdom of the British Islands than to the kingdom of heaven, and evidently the presence of the celestial Comforter was no longer with him, as he found himself compelled to evoke the ghosts of departed joys to assure him of his title to eternal life. A short time before his death he asked his chaplain, Dr. Thomas Goodwin,\* whether "a man could fall from grace;" and being answered that that was impossible, he replied, "Then I am safe, for I am sure *I was once in a state of grace.*" Such were the wretched opiates administered to his half-awakened conscience,—such the lurid lights that were to guide his departing spirit through the valley and shadow of death!

We will close this long article with a few general remarks upon

\* In the little book before us this chaplain is said, in a note by the American editor, to have been *John* Goodwin; who was *not* one of Cromwell's chaplains, and being an Arminian, did not hold the doctrine there declared. This is another evidence of the incapacity of that literary pretender.

the character of its subject. Cromwell's religion was a distinguishing feature of his character, in which he was, doubtless, more sincere than Scriptural. Through all his changes of situation, and among all his cares and perplexities, he punctually attended to all the public and private duties of religion; retiring daily at appointed hours for reading the Scriptures and prayer. He was blameless in his manners and conversation, a strict observer of the sabbath, and so free from covetousness, that with all his opportunities to amass wealth, he left his family but little the richer for his elevation, while he distributed from his private purse forty thousand pounds a year in charities. But with all his piety he was an enthusiast. He sought in direct spiritual communications those directions which are to be obtained only from the written word, and sometimes mistook the creatures of his own fancy for manifestations of the will of God. He esteemed the issue of a battle a declaration of the designs of Providence, and when his last victory invested him with the supreme power, he persuaded himself that he was made the ruler of his country by the arm of the Almighty.

As a soldier and a statesman he deserves a place in the very first rank. He emulated and perhaps equaled the great Gustavus Adolphus, by prosecuting equally-glorious ends, with not inferior success. He possessed the indomitable spirit of Cortes, inflamed in like manner with religious enthusiasm, but without his cruelty. He had the ambition of Napoleon, but it was chastened by a care for the public good. He desired to be great, but not at the expense of the happiness of his fellow-men. Even Algernon Sydney commended him as one who had just notions of public liberty; nor is it more than sheer justice demands, to confess that so far as the state of things would permit, he scrupulously maintained the rights of the commonwealth.

The influences of the civil commotions in which he was a governing spirit have been highly favorable to the cause of civil liberty, and the gratitude of enfranchised nations is due to Oliver Cromwell. Though he did not establish republicanism in England, he gave a death-blow to monarchical tyranny. The restoration of the Stuarts was but the oscillation of the revolutionary sphere, while its progress toward liberty was not permanently retarded; and though the old tyranny was for a time resuscitated, it had received a mortal wound, and finally expired with the abdication of the Second James. For the blessings secured by the revolution, and confirmed by the settlement of the Hanoverian dynasty, the British Islands are indebted to the leaders of the great rebellion, and especially to those who accomplished the death of the faithless Charles.

ART. II.—*The Living Ministry.*

VARIOUS and multiplied are the means employed by God to lead men to heaven. The Scriptures, given by inspiration, are a lamp to our feet, and a light to our path. They reveal to us God, in his attributes of holiness and goodness, and direct us to the place of his abode. They give us the true history of our fall, and thus point out the cause of our wretchedness. And to escape the hell which they threaten on account of sin, they teach us, by faith, love, and obedience, to gain the heaven which they promise to all that comply with their requirements.

The great agency which God uses in propagating, explaining, and enforcing the commands and precepts of these Scriptures, is *the living ministry*—men of like passions with ourselves, interested personally in the message which they deliver, and expecting life and salvation only through that Jesus whom they preach. Man, renovated and saved by divine grace, persuades his guilty fellows to “taste that the Lord is gracious.” Man is appointed to treat with man; and, duly authorized, he is the

——“great plenipotent of heaven,  
And representative of God on earth.”

Says St. Paul, “A dispensation of the gospel is committed to me.” 1 Cor. ix, 17. “God hath committed to us the word of reconciliation.” 2 Cor. v, 19. “God hath in due times manifested his word through preaching, which is committed unto me according to the commandment of God our Saviour.” Titus i, 3. “Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ’s stead, be ye reconciled to God.” 2 Cor. v, 20.

Such universally was the case from the days of Noah, “a preacher of righteousness,” to the establishment of the Aaronic priesthood; and down through the seers and prophets to the commissioning and sending forth of the apostles by Jesus Christ. The ministry of the present glorious dispensation was established by the Head of the church; and it is so regarded as the great, indispensable instrumentality in the salvation of men, that inspiration even asks, “How shall they call on him whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and *how shall they hear without a preacher?*” Rom. x, 14. And it pleases God by the foolishness of *preaching to save them that believe.* Hence



the exclamation, "How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!"

This ministry *is called of God*. Aaron was divinely designated for the priest's office and work. Samuel heard the voice of God; and Isaiah received his messages from his mouth. And in all the mutations of the Jewish nation under their former dispensation, God communicated with them through his chosen prophets. These were selected from the various walks and callings of life; and all of them bore the insignia and stamp of heaven.

That the apostles of our Lord were called in a very extraordinary manner to the work of the ministry, there can be no doubt. Their commission from Christ is couched in language the most emphatic and authoritative: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature; he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned. And lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Here is the institution of the Christian ministry; and those who believe the word of God as dispensed by this appointment shall be saved, and those who reject it, do so at their own peril—they shall be damned.

This is substantially the commission of every true minister of Christ: "No man taketh this honor unto himself, but he that is *called of God*, as was Aaron." Heb. v, 4. "I thank Christ Jesus our Lord for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry." 1 Tim. i, 12. "Christ sent me to preach the gospel." 1 Cor. i, 17. "Yea, wo is unto me if I preach not the gospel." 1 Cor. ix, 16. And no one can enter into the service of the sanctuary unless he feel that necessity is laid upon him. He must, in the language of the ordination service for deacons, "be inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon him the office of the ministry in the church of Christ." It is from this consideration that the ambassadors of Christ have authority to treat with men. They are

—"*elect by God himself;*  
*Anointed by the Holy Ghost, and set*  
*Apart to the great work of saving men;*  
*Instructed fully in the will divine;*  
*Supplied with grace in store as need might ask;*  
*And with the stamp and signature of heaven,*  
*Truth, mercy, patience, holiness, and love,*  
*Accredited."*

Pollok.

Divinely appointed, therefore, is the Christian ministry, and tremendous are its results. "We are unto God," says the apostle,

"a sweet savor of Christ, in them that are saved, and in them that perish; to the one, the savor of death unto death; and to the other, the savor of life unto life." 2 Cor. ii, 15, 16.

There is perhaps little difference of opinion among the various branches of the church orthodox as to the *indispensableness* of the ministry itself. But there is a wide difference respecting the *call* of the ministry. It is made by some to consist in one thing, by others in another. One supposes that if a man has acquired a classical education, and has spent some three years in studying a prescribed course of theology, that he is qualified for the office, and called to the work, of the ministry; and, as his way shall open before him, he may enter upon the discharge of ministerial duties, "assuredly gathering" that God hath called him to preach. Others, the very opposite, suppose that any individual who is *pious*, if he feel a *desire* to save souls, is a fit person to engage in the work of the ministry; and, though without even elementary instruction, and, what is still worse, without much capacity for learning—"a scull that cannot teach and will not learn"—his desire for the salvation of men is regarded by himself, and by his friends, as evidence of a divine call, a "moving of the Holy Ghost," to preach the gospel. And lest, in opposing his wishes, they should seem to fight against God, who, we are reminded, chooses the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world, the things that are mighty, he is recommended as a fit person to preach, and forthwith he becomes a minister of the sanctuary. The results, as too frequently seen, are: by one *no* Christ is preached, and by the other he is *so* preached as to be wounded in the house of his friends. The one may deal in "words, words, words," while the other, though on a spiritual embassy, and claiming to be accredited by the court of heaven, gives painful evidence that he is only "*nature's* journeyman." Multiplied are the instances in which the pulpit has been degraded by an irreligious worldly wisdom, and a pious imbecility.

However extensively these views may be held, or to whatever extent they may have induced practice, we can but regard them both as erroneous. And we may ask of those who accept of insufficient evidence of a divine call to the work of the ministry, and who send when God has not sent, "By what authority do ye these things? or who gave you this authority?" Men run into error by taking, or trying to take, the work of God into their own hands. Christ is the Head of his church. He knows, as the great Bishop of souls, what instrumentality his work requires. And whom he calls for the performance of this work, he will, as he ever has done,

so qualify that it shall be manifest to the church that his call is of God.

To aid us in arriving at a correct conclusion in this matter, so important to the ministry, and important also to the well-being and prosperity of the church, there are a number of things to be considered. We think we may safely lay down this proposition, viz. *Those whom God calls to be his ministers are men of sound mind, discerning judgment, good colloquial powers, and ardent piety.* To substantiate this, we shall have respect to the history of the past, to the word of God, and to the propriety and fitness of things.

Whom did our Lord call to be his apostles and first preachers? Men of refined classical education, and who had acquired a literary reputation among the philosophers and wise men of their age? No; for then had the gospel seemed to stand in the wisdom of men, and not in the power of God. But he chose men who, from their connection with him, were deeply imbued with his Spirit, of strong minds, of physical strength, and of ready utterance. What propriety and fitness do we discover here! The arduous duties of these preachers, their travels, their privations, their ministrations in the open air, all made physical strength necessary. They were of strong, acquiring minds, that they might be able to grasp the powerful truths of the gospel, and from their constantly-increasing fund of religious knowledge, bring forth for the edification of their hearers "things new and old;" of good colloquial powers, that they might be able to present, in a forcible and persuasive manner, these blessed and sublime truths, and, by their winning, subduing eloquence, "compel" their fellow-men to come to God. And their history shows that all these powers were improved for the good of the rising church, and the glory of God.

If we look at the history of the Reformation, we see the same class of men, from the same walks of life, the actors on the stage—men of great strength and capacity of mind.\* How eminently do these inhere in the apostle of the Reformation, in Melancthon, in Zuingle, in Calvin; and also in the noble band raised up by God to be their coadjutors in that fearful struggle! They showed them-

\* "It is the method of God's providence to effect great results by inconsiderable means. This law, which pervades the kingdom of nature, is discerned also in the history of mankind. God chose the reformers of the church from the same condition and worldly circumstances from whence he had before taken the apostles. He chose them from the humble class, which, though not the lowest, can hardly be said to belong to the middle ranks. Everything was thus to make manifest to the world that the work was not of man, but of God."—*D'Aubigne's Hist. of Ref.*, vol. i, p. 118.



selves workmen that needed not to be ashamed; and, notwithstanding the lapse of three centuries, and the transcendentalism of the present age, these men are still the admiration of the Protestant world.

In the instance of our early preachers, both in England and America, we see the same policy pursued by God. The pioneers of Wesleyan and American Methodism stand out as a distinct and noble class of men. Their hearts were thoroughly imbued with the Spirit of their divine Master; and having the mind to acquire knowledge, and the faculty to teach, they were champions of the cross. The monument of their zeal is with us. We trust also that the Spirit by which they carried on their enterprise, and accomplished their efforts, is with their sons. So let it be!

What teaches the word of inspiration on this subject? Says St. Paul to Timothy and Titus, his own sons in the faith, "The servant of God must be *apt to teach*, so that with sound doctrine he may be able both to exhort and *convince* the gainsayers. God has not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of a *sound mind*." We remark upon this plain declaration of the apostle, that whatever may be the *desire* of an individual, however pious, or however classical in his attainments, nay, though he may have been "recommended," and even a bishop's hands placed upon his head, if he has not in some good degree aptness to teach and a sound mind, we have reason to fear that he has mistaken his call. He had better tarry longer at Jerusalem.

In those whom God selects as his ministers or ambassadors this sound mind should be looked for in connection with *deep and ardent piety*: for God will no more send a man to convert sinners who is destitute of piety, than he will commission one in idiocy to teach them the doctrines of his word. They are inseparably connected in God's ministers;\* and the authorities of the church may not lay hands suddenly on any man who does not give satisfactory evidence of the possession of both.

\* The following extract from the Discipline is directly to the point:—

"Quest. How shall we try those who profess to be moved by the Holy Ghost to preach?

"Ans. 1. Let the following questions be asked, viz. Do they know God as a *pardoning* God? Have they the *love of God abiding* in them? Do they desire nothing but God? And are they *holy* in all manner of conversation?

"2. Have they *gifts* for the work? Have they a *clear, sound understanding*, a *right judgment in the things of God*, a *just conception of salvation by faith*? And has God given them any degree of utterance? Do they speak *justly, readily, clearly*?"

Is not this in accordance with propriety and fitness? Can one teach successfully without capabilities for his vocation? Can the minister of Christ wisely distribute to the members of his flock without judgment? Can he feed them with that bread which cometh down from heaven when he has never eaten thereof himself? Can he speak words of comfort to his hearers when he has not experienced the consolation of religion? No; he might speak, but God would not be in the word. For the advancement of religion, the pulpit might as well be without Paul, as Paul destitute of evangelical piety.

Under the Jewish dispensation none were permitted to "approach to offer the bread of their God" who had any imperfection of person. Vide precept, Lev. xxi, 17-21.\* And can we suppose, under the present dispensation, that imperfection of mind, imbecility of intellect, will oppose no bar to the ministry? Certainly not. If there were propriety and fitness in one, surely there must be in the other. The services of the Jewish temple were, as prescribed, a regular system of rites and ceremonies. Not so with the services in the Christian sanctuary. They are purely *intellectual* and *spiritual*. The priests and Levites had a multitude of offices to perform, which are done away in Christ. Punctilious exactness in the externals of religion was inculcated. The preaching of Christ and his apostles was directly to the heart and the understanding. The business of the Christian minister is to *disciple* men—to *teach* and *train*. This cannot be done without that discerning judgment, that soundness of mind, which we contend ought to be looked for in those who officiate at the altar.

This view of the subject is clearly set forth and maintained by the standard writers of our church. "Intellectual fitness is found in all those whom God selects as his instruments, and is the BASIS of this special gift which we are taught in the text to expect from the grace of Christ."—Watson: *Sermon on the Qualification for the Ministry*.

"Of a sound mind, *σωφρονισμῶν*, of self-possession and government, according to some. But a sound mind implies much more: it means a *clear understanding*, a *sound judgment*, a *rectified will*, holy passions, heavenly tempers; in a word, the whole soul *harmonized* in all its *powers* and *faculties*; and completely regulated and influenced so as to think, speak, and act aright in all things."—Dr. A. Clarke: *Note on 2 Tim. i, 7*.

\* On this subject the reader's attention is invited to the notes of Dr. A. Clarke, *in loc.*

"To begin with those gifts which are from nature. Ought not a minister to have, first, a *good understanding*, a *clear apprehension*, a *sound judgment*, and a *capacity* of reasoning with some closeness? Is not this necessary in a high degree for the work of the ministry? Otherwise, how will he be able to understand the various states of those under his care; or to steer them, through a thousand difficulties and dangers, to the haven where they would be? Is not this necessary, with respect to the numerous enemies whom he has to encounter? Can a fool cope with all the men that know not God, and with all the spirits of darkness? Nay; he will neither be aware of the devices of Satan, nor the craftiness of his children."—*Wesley: Address to the Clergy.*

We close this part of our subject with an extract from that admirable work of the vicar of Madeley, the Portrait of St. Paul: "As it is a matter of the utmost importance to understand by what tokens this ordinary vocation to the holy ministry may be discovered, the following reflections upon so interesting a subject may not be altogether superfluous:—

"If a young man of virtuous manners is deeply penetrated with this humiliating truth, 'All have sinned and come short of the glory of God;' if, further, he is effectually convinced of this consolatory truth, 'God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life;' if his natural talents have been strengthened by a liberal education; if the pleasure of doing good is sweeter to him than all the pleasures of sense; if the hope of converting sinners from the error of their way occupies his mind more agreeably than the idea of acquiring all the advantages of fortune; if the honor of publishing the gospel is superior in his eyes to the honor of becoming the ambassador of an earthly prince; in short, if, by a desire which springs from the fear of God, the love of Christ, and the concern he takes in the salvation of his neighbor, he is led to consecrate himself to the holy ministry; if, in the order of Providence, outward circumstances concur with his own designs; and if he solicits the grace and assistance of God with greater eagerness than he seeks the outward vocation from his superiors in the church by the imposition of hands, he may then satisfy himself, that the great High Priest of the Christian profession has set him apart for the high office to which he aspires."

Having made these observations on the call of the ministry, we proceed to remark upon the obligations which that call imposes.

It is the duty of every man called to the work of the ministry to improve the "sound mind" which that call implies. "Study to



show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." 2 Tim. ii, 15. There is now no room for hesitancy. Called of God, "as was Aaron," the minister of the sanctuary is to "search the Scriptures." He is, in the language of Mr. Wesley, *homo unius libri*, a man of one book—the Bible. Its languages and history, its evidences and doctrines, its institutions and morals, its poetry and style, are all to be studied and understood by him. It is his text-book from first to last. All that is necessary, both for faith and practice, is contained therein; and he should aim to be, like the eloquent Apollos, "mighty in the Scriptures."

"The minister would be justly condemned, and especially in the present day, who neglects the acquisition of knowledge; who does not, as St. Paul himself enjoins, 'give attendance to reading;' who contents himself with half-conceived and ill-arranged generalities; who has no intellectual stores from which to make that skillful distribution, and give that varied illustration of his subjects, which the different characters, states, and tastes of men require; who, though professedly a teacher of religion, neither defends it by well-chosen arguments, nor holds in his mind a just arrangement of its doctrines; and who, while in every public service, places himself before the people as an expounder of God's word, seems not aware of the diligent application to private study which that important office demands, nor avails himself of the labors of those eminent men who have devoted their learning and their spiritual discernment to elucidate the Holy Scriptures."—*Watson*.

On nothing have the views of Mr. Wesley been more perverted, both by friends and foes, than on the subject of education in the ministry. "His getting learning, good, but saving souls, better," has been a very fruitful theme. Those who but partially understand his views, and who cannot appreciate his circumstances, often speak of his employing unlearned men for his assistants, as though it were a matter of choice. Some very roundly affirm that he wished them to visit, and preach, and save souls without reference at all to their own intellectual culture. But, come this from where it may, we repel it with indignance. It is a *slander* upon the name of that learned, apostolic man. We venture to say that no man, occupying such a place, and sustaining such a relation to the church, over a branch of which God had made him overseer, ever marked out a higher standard, *morally* and *intellectually*, for ministers of Christ than he did. Mr. Wesley chose to have the ministry educated, and well educated. It could not be otherwise. He was a learned man himself, and the patron of learning. His

own productions make a library.\* His helpers were enjoined to spend five hours a day in reading. And yet, say some, and some of them are called by his name, he chose ignorance in the ministry! It is too palpably absurd to be dwelt upon for a moment!

Hear him, in his Address to the Clergy: "Can he [the minister] take one step aright without first a competent share of knowledge? A knowledge, first, of his own office; of the high trust in which he stands; the important work to which he is called? Is there any hope that a man should discharge his office well, if he knows not what it is? that he should acquit himself faithfully of a trust, the very nature whereof he does not understand? Nay, if he knows not the work God has given him to do, he cannot finish it.

"No less necessary is a knowledge of the Scriptures, which teach us how to teach others; yea, a knowledge of all the Scriptures; seeing scripture interprets scripture; one part fixing the sense of another. So that, whether it be true or not that every good textuary is a good divine, it is certain none can be a good divine who is not a good textuary. None else can be mighty in the Scriptures; able both to instruct and to stop the mouths of gain-sayers.

"In order to do this accurately, ought he not to know the literal meaning of every word, verse, and chapter; without which there can be no firm foundation on which the spiritual meaning can be built? Should he not likewise be able to deduce the proper corollaries, speculative and practical, from each text; to solve the difficulties which arise, and answer the objections which are or may be raised against it; and to make a suitable application of all to the consciences of his hearers?

"But can he do this in the most effectual manner without a knowledge of the original tongues? Without this will he not frequently be at a stand, even as to texts which regard practice only? But he will be under still greater difficulties, with respect to controverted scriptures. He will be ill able to rescue these out of the hands of any man of learning that would pervert them; for wherever an appeal is made to the original, his mouth is stopped at once.

"Is not a knowledge of profane history, likewise, of ancient customs, of chronology and geography, though not absolutely neces-

\* "To some persons it may perhaps appear incredible, but it is, nevertheless, a fact, that independently of his own original works, which occupy fourteen large octavo volumes, Mr. John Wesley abridged, revised, and printed no fewer than *one hundred and seventeen* distinct publications, reckoning his Christian Library, his histories, and philosophy, as only one each."—*Dr. Jackson's Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism.*

sary, yet highly expedient, for him that would thoroughly understand the Scriptures ; since the want even of this knowledge is but poorly supplied by reading the comments of other men ?

“Some knowledge of the sciences, also, is, to say the least, equally expedient. Nay, may we not say, that the knowledge of one, (whether art or science,) although now quite unfashionable, is even necessary next, and in order to, the knowledge of the Scripture itself? I mean logic. For what is this, if rightly understood, but the art of good sense? of approaching things clearly, judging truly, and reasoning conclusively? What is it, viewed in another light, but the art of learning and teaching, whether by convincing or persuading? What is there, then, in the whole compass of science to be desired in comparison of it?

“Should not a minister be acquainted too with at least the general grounds of natural philosophy? Is not this a great help to the accurate understanding of several passages of Scripture? Assisted by this, he may himself comprehend, and, on proper occasions, explain to others, how the invisible things of God are seen from the creation of the world; how the ‘heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork;’ till they cry out, ‘O Lord, how manifold are thy works? in wisdom hast thou made them all.’

“But how far can he go in this without some knowledge of geometry? which is likewise useful, not barely on this account, but to give clearness of apprehension, and a habit of thinking closely and connectedly.”

We have given this long extract from Mr. Wesley as pertinent to the subject under consideration, and as an expression of his sentiments on a question vitally important to the church. It cannot be regarded, we think, as a plea for, or connivance at, ignorance in the ministry.

A theological training for the ministry is absolutely necessary—we do not say whether in or out of school. It does not matter with us where this knowledge is obtained, only so that it be acquired. It is a question, however, whether this training can be had *in the work*, as has formerly been the case. This was more than doubted, we think, by the lamented Dr. Fisk. It is an inquiry in the minds of many, whether it is not the duty of the church to take the incipient steps for the establishment and endowment of an institution where those called of God, and accepted by the church to be her ministers, may be more fully instructed for the work in which they are to engage. However this may be, it is the duty of the minister to be so instructed; and if he has not all the helps



that are desirable, and even necessary, he must use with more diligence such as he has. And let him not be discouraged by anything short of an impossibility. His call of God, if he is faithful to that call, is a pledge that he shall succeed. Christ is with him; and even this is among the "all things" which he "can do through Christ strengthening him."

It will be perceived that we do not urge this training in order to *make* ministers; but for those who are called of God to be ministers—who have already heard his voice, and, like the prophet, have his word in their hearts as a burning fire shut up in their bones—on whom necessity is laid—and who groan out, "Wo is unto me if I preach not the gospel!" But to educate theologically for the ministry, as a profession, is worse than vain. God will provide for himself; and the church may only train and use such as he shall furnish.

As Christ has given no express instructions to the church on this subject, we may follow his example. He selected his disciples, and then educated them for the work in which he designed them to engage. They were with him three years, going out and in before him; during which period they learned his doctrine and manner of life, and so far from being illiterate, as is often said, they were endowed by Heaven, and *thoroughly furnished* unto every good word and work. "It is worthy of notice, that those who were Christ's *apostles* were first his *disciples*; to intimate, that men must be first *taught* of God, before they are *sent* of God. Jesus Christ never made an *apostle* of any man who was not first his *scholar* or *disciple*."—*Dr. A. Clarke.*

We have said that a minister ought to study and understand the languages \* of the Bible. This is set forth in a strong and clear light, in the foregoing extract from Mr. Wesley, as necessary. But what avails this necessity unless it can be met? And how can such as have not had the advantages of a classical education master the

\* "I suppose the most necessary study of all is the acquiring an intimate acquaintance with both Testaments in their original languages, never losing sight of the Septuagint, which is the best interpreter of the Hebrew words, as well as of the Hellenistic dialect, which pervades the New Testament. This, I presume, should form part, and a considerable one, of the daily study of a young divine."—*Robert Hall.*

No one, however, will be so vain as to study the Hebrew and Greek without first acquiring a knowledge of the vernacular. He cannot understand them, and give the sense, unless he has a good knowledge of his own language. And for a minister to smatter in the former, and *murder* the latter, is *ridiculous*. See in this work for 1841, pp. 290-297.

Greek ? and those who have not had the advantages of a theological seminary the Hebrew ? Not so easily, we grant. And yet it can be done ; and the importance of the knowledge, with the assurance that it can be acquired, ought to be sufficient to stimulate every *Methodist* preacher to its attainment. That it can be done on stations and circuits, hundreds of instances testify. And Mr. Wesley declares that the greatest master of Biblical knowledge he ever knew was Thomas Walsh, an *itinerant* preacher.

One would suppose that the pleasure derived from a knowledge of these languages would secure their careful study. What emotions will it excite to read the history of creation in the language of Moses—to ponder over the commandments as written by the finger of God—to sing the songs of David as penned by the sweet Psalmist of Israel—to catch the evangelical strains as they fall from Isaiah's hallowed lips—to *feel* the heart-rending lamentations as they are upheaved from Jeremiah's anxious heart, and to read the discourses of Him who "spake as never man spake," in the language in which they were pronounced ! O it is all but inspiration re-inspired !

Without a knowledge of the languages of the Bible, we are not so well prepared to understand and appreciate the notes of learned men on the text. The creed or fancy of commentators may lead them to gloss with error ; and as all men are fallible, we should rather hear directly from his own mouth "what God the Lord will say." The place for the minister to *hear* this is the study ; the place to *announce* it, the pulpit ; and the manner of doing it is given by the prophet Nehemiah : "So they read in the book in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused the people to understand the reading." They *distinctly read*, and *correctly translated*, and *powerfully enforced* the doctrines of God's word. There was necessity for this course ; and the same necessity still exists, and ever must exist. "The sacred writings as they came from God are shut up in languages no longer vernacular."

What an argument is drawn from the above for the unremitting study of the Bible ! And, taken in connection with the awful Apocalyptic warning, what fearfully-tremendous responsibility rests upon the minister of God's holy word ! "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book ; and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book." How shall he stand acquitted who, through negligence and inattention to study, has failed

to give his hearers the "*sense*" of God's word? who has added to, or taken from, the divine message?

It is supposed by some that our itinerancy is unfavorable to study. This, however, is not so, but right the reverse. And on the present arrangement of stations and circuits, our preachers may study if they will. Their moving, pastoral visiting, and short rides to their preaching appointments, are little more than sufficient to save them from the *ennui* of close mental application; certainly not more than are necessary for physical health and comfort. Their frequent visitations to the poor, sick, and dying, all tend to elevate the affections, expand the soul, and refine the moral feelings. We believe there is no class of men on earth who enjoy, in their calling, such advantages for acquiring various and important knowledge as the itinerant Methodist preachers. The Methodist preacher is not in the early part of his ministry settled down in some retired parish, where, scarcely ever passing its bourn, he spends his life: but the world is his parish. In the course of his itinerancy he ministers to thousands. He mingles with all classes of society, and studies men and things from actual observation. And a mere *dolt* must he be, who, with this field before him, and the Bible and the great English masters in his hand, does not become an adept in the science of human nature. And knowing the wants of men he will be greatly stimulated to meet them.

Paramount to all is the consideration that it is the *duty* of the minister to be a scribe well instructed in the kingdom of God. He should never dream of merely "getting along," of trusting to sketch books, skeletons, and the labors of others. He should prepare for the sanctuary the pure beaten oil himself. And he that does not do this loses confidence in himself, and forfeits, and that justly too, the respect and esteem of others. And besides, he is guilty of a theft denounced by God. When a minister enters the pulpit with the preparations of others for his people, we are reminded, not of David in the armor of Saul, but of the ass in the skin of the lion. The *roaring* out of the lion's *skin* will, after all, only be the braying from the *ass's throat*!

God's ministers must be "*apt to teach.*" They need, therefore, to learn the art of speaking well; call it eloquence, or power, or what you please. Their office is to *persuade* men. And both the matter and manner should be such as to accomplish this object. To do this the minister must *understand* the subject of his discourse. After all the definitions of eloquence, and the prescribed rules of oratory, nothing will aid the speaker like a thorough knowledge of the subject on which he dwells. If the subject be im-



portant, and the speaker understands himself, and has a thorough knowledge of his theme, he can hardly fail to be eloquent. Without this there may be a display of words and sounds, but there will be little or no power. "He who speaks of what he does not understand, speaks with no confidence in his own utterances, or with an unwarranted confidence; and in either case his discourse will want the characteristics of true power."—*Skinner's Aids to Preaching*.

The preacher has a fine opportunity for the exhibition of eloquence or power in speaking. His commission is from God. His message is to guilty men hastening to the great tribunal. His object is to persuade them to be reconciled to God. His arguments are drawn from the love of God, the death of Christ, the joys of heaven, and the unending miseries of hell. He dwells upon

"Life, death, bliss, and wo."

And when he considers that himself and hearers are standing on the verge of the tomb, that eternal realities are suspended on life's feeble string, that the great day of judgment will be awful beyond conception, he must be eloquent. But his will not be the eloquence of the statesman, not the eloquence of the actor, but the eloquence of a minister of God!

The ministers of Christ need to cultivate personal piety. Our church has hitherto looked well to this matter. Those who go out and in before the people as pastors and guides must be holy. From present indications we may yet have to contend with as much energy and zeal for experimental religion as did the fathers. To do this we shall need to be men of faith and prayer. Yes, we shall need to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and have an unction from above. "Three things,"\* says Luther, "constitute the theologian; *meditation, prayer, and trial*: and three things are to be done by the minister of the word; to *unfold the Scriptures, to pray with earnestness, and always to remain a learner*! They are the best preachers to the common people who teach in a child-like, common, popular, and very simple manner."

It is very difficult to define or prescribe a given course of study for the minister. Something may be done in his earlier years in

\* "Tria faciunt theologum, dixit: *meditatio, oratio, tentatio*: et tria verbi ministro facienda: *evolvere Biblia; orare seriò; et semper discipulum manere*. Optimi ad vulgus hi sunt concionatores: qui pueriliter, trivialiter, populariter, et simplicissimè docent."—*Melchior Adam's Life of the German Reformer, as quoted by Townley, Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, vol. ii, p. 7, note.

this way to fix the mind definitely on an object and concentrate its powers. But being set apart, he should be determined to know all that is to be known. Knowledge will never come amiss. Often it will seem to come up spontaneously to his relief in the study, and to his assistance in the pulpit. While much is required of the Christian minister, much is given. The youthful herald of the cross should be encouraged. God is the author of wisdom. If any man, and especially the minister, lack wisdom, let him ask of God. He giveth liberally. God will open his understanding, and cause him to see wondrous things out of his law. We can hardly conceive the incalculable benefits that will be derived from this source. God is light; and in communion with him light will be reflected into our own soul.

“What may greatly encourage those who give themselves up to the work, with regard to all these endowments, many of which cannot be attained without considerable labor, is this: they are assured of being assisted in all their labor by Him who teacheth man knowledge. And who teacheth like him? Who, like him, giveth wisdom to the simple? How easy is it for him, (if we desire it, and believe that he is both able and willing to do this,) by the powerful, though secret, influences of his Spirit, to open and enlarge our understanding; to strengthen all our faculties; to bring to our remembrance whatsoever things are needful, and to fix and sharpen our attention to them; so that we may profit above all who depend wholly on themselves, in whatever may qualify us for our Master’s work!”—*Address to the Clergy.*

My younger brethren in the ministry, to whom only I presume to write, let us take courage. We have a great work to do, but He who commissioned us *will be with us*. Our fathers are rapidly passing off the stage. Important trusts are confided to us. The gospel is to be preached in all its purity and power. The missionary and educational interests of the church we must care for. What qualifications do we need for our vast and important work! It is not enough that we be *willing* to go into any part of the work, but, as God’s ministers, we should be *qualified* for any part of it. “Who is sufficient for these things?” We have illustrious examples before us. Let us as sons be worthy of our sires. And not only shall the descending mantle of our ascending fathers fall upon us, but their upward flight will be more joyous, knowing that they have committed the gospel to able and faithful men.

We give the following recapitulation:—

I. The great instrumentality employed by God in calling men to repentance *is the living ministry.*

II. Those who compose this ministry *are called of God*; are "*moved*" to their office and work "*by the Holy Ghost*."

III. Those whom God calls to be his ministers are men of *sound minds, discerning judgment, ready utterance, and ardent piety*.

IV. It is the *duty* of those thus called to be ministers of Christ to cultivate their minds by *careful and diligent study*—by the acquisition of *all knowledge* that will improve the *heart* and the *understanding*.

V. That, though much is required of the ministers of the gospel, and the labor which they are to perform is great, yet *much is given*. If faithful, their *call* to the ministry is a pledge that they shall succeed. Christ is with them; and God, who giveth liberally, *is the author of wisdom*.

A very important question is proposed in connection with this subject. When do the obligations of Christian ministers, as such, cease? We have supposed from the language of their commission, and from the nature and fitness of things, they could cease only with life. We cannot pretend to say how these obligations may be varied by the providence of God. For

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends,  
Rough hew them how we will."

And ministers may, by sickness or casualty, be so disabled as to unfit them for the work of the sanctuary. In all such cases God does with his servants as he sees fit; and they must be resigned to his will.

But how persons called of God to enter into the service of the church, can in a few years leave that service and engage in secular callings, or enter the arena of political strife and aspire to offices of trust and emolument, we do not understand. Something undoubtedly is wrong. We fear that love of the world has supplanted the love of souls. Have not such forgotten their calling? If they still felt, wo is unto us if we preach not the gospel, would they do so? The apostles continued their work until death or martyrdom closed their career. It may be said of them emphatically,

"*They ceased at once to work and live.*"

"No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." And may not the blood of souls be found in the skirts of those who desert the walls of Zion? Every minister should tremble at the thought of retiring from the work to which God has called him, without the divine sanction. This course has brought no little discredit upon the church.



Ministers leaving the pulpit for the forum, the sanctuary for the exchange, the cure of souls for some worldly avocation, are a spectacle to angels. Not a few such, with the loss of their spirituality, have lost also the respect and confidence of the church. Their last days have been embittered, and their sun has set behind a cloud !

How must it be, also, with such ministers when they present themselves for final judgment at the bar of God ? Here are we, Lord, and—what ? The souls which thou hast given us, when these souls have been neglected for honor, wealth, or ease ? when active years have been taken from the church and given to the world ? Will God say to such, “ Well done, good and faithful servants, ye have been faithful over a few things, I will make you rulers over many things : enter ye into the joy of your Lord ? ” We confess we fear. God save us from such a critical position !

God counted me faithful, says the apostle, putting me into the ministry. And next to the joy of heaven must be the joy of the man of God, who, *worn out* with labor, has a consciousness of unremitting fidelity to his Master ; who, having stood long first and foremost in the ranks, doing battle with sin and Satan, is honorably scarred in the service of the church. The end of such a one is more than peaceful ; *it is glorious !* He has fought a good fight, *he* has kept the faith, *he* has finished his course, *he* is now *ready* to be offered up, and there is laid up for *him* a crown of glory. Waiting for his discharge, a moment in ecstasy, he sings,—

“ Happy, if with my *latest breath*  
I may but *gasp* His name ;  
Preach him to all, and cry in *death*,  
*Behold ! Behold the Lamb !* ”

He dies ; and angels and men exclaim, “ *Servant of God, well done !* ”  
H.

ART. III.—*On the Sign of the Prophet Jonah.*

[Translated from the German of M. Baumgarten, in Rudelbach und Guerike's *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Theologie.*]

THE following is a translation from the German of an article published in Rudelbach and Guerike's *Zeitschrift*, &c., by M. Baumgarten. The author is a young theologian of great promise, and belongs to the rapidly-increasing Evangelical party in Germany. He is now publishing a Commentary on the Old Testament, which, though it may favor too much the allegorical method of interpretation, yet exhibits a thorough knowledge and regard for the spirit and sanctity of the Word of God, and, in this respect, is far superior to the writings of many who profess to belong to the Evangelical party:—

FROM the words of our Saviour, (Matt. xii, 39–41; xvi, 4; Luke xi, 29, 30, 32,) there can be no doubt but that there is something typical in the history of the prophet Jonah. In a type we first think of an outward sign, and properly, as is shown by the signification of the word. But in endeavoring to understand the types of the Scriptures, we are too apt to forget that we must look at more than the outward sign. For the outward sign, when it is rightly understood, has invariably an inner spiritual sense corresponding to it, and this universal law must be the more readily acknowledged to prevail in the Scriptures, since here the Spirit rules throughout. In the Scriptures, then, it is impossible that there can be any outward sign without something inner and spiritual corresponding to it; indeed, even where the idea of the outward sign first presents itself to us, we must remember that there is something inner which forms the ground of the outward, the substance of the external appearance. Accordingly, that we may understand a type as a whole, and in all its separate points, we must first of all give our attention to the thought which lies at the foundation, to the inner nature of that which appears as a type. Israel in Egypt and in the wilderness appears as a type of Jesus, first, since there is a parallelism in the outer or outward history of Jesus: but this outer parallelism could not be typical, if Israel had not an inner substantial connection with Jesus. Israel is the Son of Jehovah, and, therefore, begotten of the Holy Ghost, as Jesus is the Son of God. This inner relation between the two is that which has impressed itself in the parallelism of the outer history of both. When David, betrayed by Ahithophel, passes over the

brook Kidron, weeping and with his face covered, when he goes up the Mount of Olives, and there prays, he is a type of Jesus, who under similar circumstances went the same way. But this type has its signification only when we recognize the connection, the unity, of David and Jesus, of the Old Testament דָּוִד and of the New Testament Χριστός. The question may be asked, Why, throughout the Biblical history, the inner parallels present themselves so multifariously outwardly as such, or why the persons or relations inwardly corresponding are exhibited in types? The reason is found in the divine economy of events, which in the world form the basis of salvation. There is, indeed, a connection between outer and inner, between appearance and substance; but just as well there must be conceded a contrast between the two, which is gradually removed as the development proceeds to its completion. The history of the plan of redemption differs in this from the common and natural province, that it now and then removes this contrast, while it places its completion in time.

Therefore, if we wish to understand the sign of the prophet Jonah, we must first of all seek to know his importance and his character from his history. Besides the book named after our prophet, we have only one notice of him in the Scriptures. But this is not unimportant. It is said that the restoration of the ancient borders, from Hamath to the Dead Sea, which was effected by Jeroboam the son of Joash, was promised by Jonah the son of Amittai, the servant of God. 2 Kings xiv, 25. Although we are not definitely informed as to the time of this prophecy, yet it can be fixed with probability. Hazael, the Syrian, was promised to Elijah as the avenger of the sins of Ahab. 1 Kings xix, 15; 2 Kings viii, 12. Hazael smote Joram the son of Ahab, (2 Kings viii, 28,) and he must be the one who moved forward the borders of Israel and Syria, for Benhadad must have restored them to Ahab, (1 Kings xx, 24,) since the chief blow was to fall, not on Ahab, but his son. 1 Kings xxi, 29. The anointing of Jehu, who was also promised to Elijah as an avenger, followed immediately the defeat of Joram. The anointing of Jehu was a sign of grace to Israel; for Jehu was given for a king to Israel as to the people of Jehovah, and after he had executed his first commission a special promise is given him. 2 Kings x, 30. Here also the promise of Jonah, that the borders changed by Hazael shall be restored, finds its natural occasion and place. And viewed in this light, the opinion of the Jews, that the young prophet charged by Elisha with the anointing of Jehu, was no other than Jonah, is not unlikely, though it goes too far in its definiteness. But if we wish



to separate the certain from the uncertain in any case, this much is sure, that Jonah had a message of mercy to carry to Israel, and that this was among the last of the gracious visitations of Israel in the time of the house of Jehu. For under Jeroboam appeared Hosea and Amos, who threatened speedy destruction to Israel. Jeroboam's son, Zechariah, the last branch of the house of Jehu, was killed, after a reign of six months, and then Israel, with rapid steps, rushed on to ruin.

This Jonah, the son of Amittai, who brought the last message of mercy to Israel, is he whose remaining history is given us in a separate book, which has been admitted among the prophetic writings. Before we proceed further, it is proper to notice that a book, which from beginning to end is nothing but history, is found in the collection of prophetic discourses: for that Jonah was a prophet, is not a sufficient reason for placing his history there in the canon. Elijah and Elisha also were prophets, but their history is interwoven in the books of the kings of Israel. The position of the book of Jonah can be accounted for only on the supposition that the history contained in it is related, not for its own sake, but because it has a prophetic sense. Our business, then, is to seek out this sense. And it is not difficult to find it; for the history of Jonah has a very clear middle point, around which everything else moves. Jonah was commissioned to go to the great city of Nineveh to make known the word of Jehovah. Accordingly, the book of Jonah begins and ends with the declaration of Jehovah, that he had compassion on Nineveh, that great city, in which there lived more than one hundred and twenty thousand human beings who did not know the difference between right and left, and besides much cattle. Therefore Jehovah has regard to Nineveh; this is the beginning, this is the end of the history, and this must, without doubt, be the main sense of the book. It may be urged as an objection, that Jonah, from the first, was commissioned only to threaten Nineveh with the judgments of Jehovah. So it certainly appears, since Jehovah grounds the commission with the words, "For their wickedness has come up before my face;" and, in like manner, in the preaching of Jonah, "Yet forty days, and Nineveh will be destroyed," appears to contain nothing else than a declaration of punishment. But by careful examination we see that it was not the purpose of Jehovah to destroy Nineveh, but much more to save it. Nineveh is mentioned as the great city, and in this designation there is evidently to be found the cause for the divine commission. This is rendered still more clear by Jonah iii, 3, where in the same connection it is said, that Nine-

veh was a great city before God. It has been well said, In great cities are great sins; and so in this designation is wont to be found a reference to the divine primitive justice. But this explanation, of itself quite too forced, is decidedly rejected by the conclusion of the book. Here, for instance, the greatness of Nineveh is very emphatically brought forward, and introduced by Jehovah as the ground of his compassion. Now that this explanation is not applicable in the two foregoing passages, cannot be denied with reason. But there is yet another reason why we suppose that the back-ground of the preaching of repentance was grace and compassion. Jonah says he fled to Tarshish, because he knew that Jehovah was compassionate, slow to anger, and of great grace, and would repent the evil, (Jonah iii, 2,) and he sees a confirmation of this thought in the reconciliation that has just now taken place. It was because Jonah believed that Jehovah, notwithstanding his threatenings, would of his compassion spare Nineveh, that the commission was too heavy for him, and accordingly he endeavored to escape it. But how could Jonah come to this opinion, if, in his commission, nothing was revealed but divine wrath. Was it so easy a matter for him, who saw the judgments of Jehovah bursting forth on Israel and Judah, to suppose that Jehovah, after he had threatened the heathen, would nevertheless be gracious to them? Was it natural to believe that Jehovah would exhibit the innermost, most secret portion of his nature, that which he revealed in the moment of greatest condescension to his servant Moses, (Exod. xxxiv, 6,) toward Nineveh, the city of Nimrod, (Gen. x, 11; Micah v, 5,) and the enemy of David? Psa. lxxxiii, 8. Jonah could never have permitted himself to believe this, if there had not been in the way and manner in which the commission to Nineveh was made known to him, something giving a definite assurance that, not the wrath, but the mercy of Jehovah sent him. This leads us finally to the name of the announcement with which the prophet was commissioned; it is not called קצא, a burden, but קריא, (Jonah iii, 2,) a κήρυγμα, a sermon. Now that this sermon begins with an exhortation to repentance, and a threatening of judgment, cannot militate against our view, since this itself is not excluded from the preaching of the apostles. Acts xvii, 30, 31.

And what was the success of this preaching of salvation by Jonah? The men of Nineveh *believed on God*. Jonah iii, 5. The mysterious depth of this expression, which in the Old Testament is intimated in the few and important passages where it appears, is revealed in the New. Abraham believed, and his faith is the subjective part of the covenant, from which salvation has come to

all the world. Gen. xv, 6. The natural Israel believed not, and on that account was cut down in the wilderness. Num. xiv, 11; Psa. lxxviii, 21, 31; cvi, 12, 23. Moses and Aaron, the representatives of the regal stand-point, believed not, and on this account could not enter the promised land. Num. xx, 12. From these passages, it is sufficiently evident how great weight there is in the conversion of the Ninevites. What is told of the sailors, is closely connected with the faith of the Ninevites. Upon these the confession and history of Jonah made such an impression, that they not only were seized with fear toward Jehovah, but made offerings and vows to him. Jonah i, 16. Jonah is sent to make known to the Ninevites a repentance to life and salvation; the Ninevites believe and repent; the Canaanitish sailors fear Jehovah, and sacrifice to him. What a history introduced into the midst of the Old Testament, in which is exhibited the strongest contrast between Israel, the son of Jehovah, and the heathen, who know not Jehovah, and rise up against him! Burdens and denunciations against the heathen are found abundantly in the Old Testament; to this, in fact, corresponds the actual relation subsisting between Israel and the heathen. Egypt, Amalek, Canaan, Syria, Assyria, Babylon, appear successively as the deadly enemies of Israel. True, with the severest threats, and most terrible imprecations, there are also found kind and comforting promises; and when the heart of the sacred singer of Israel overflowed with joy, he included in his jubilee the whole circle of the earth and the hosts of heaven, and the heathen also and the isles of the sea were to partake of the salvation of Jehovah. But these are prospects, in a great part, far off; and then David, and Solomon, and Isaiah, with their hopes and wishes for the heathen, remain in Jerusalem, and the ear of the heathen hears no sound of the good message of Jehovah to the nations. But here is Jonah, who must go out among the uncircumcised; here is an ancient city of heathens, who believe on God, and from their princes to their cattle cast themselves down on account of their sins; here is a company of rough sailors, who worship Jehovah. If there is a prophetic sense contained in our book, it must be here; and if we speak of a sign of Jonah, it must be this.

But do we understand this history as in the Old Testament, and yet without any Old Testament analogy? Is this the beginning of an actual repentance of the heathen? Impossible: then Jonah must be a different man; he, indeed, failed under the burden of his mission. Therefore he could not possibly be the beginner and the chief one in the conversion of the heathen; for this, one no less



than Paul was needed. And what resulted from the repentance and faith of the Ninevites? what from the worship of the sailors? No one knows what to say. Therefore the history of Jonah cannot be considered as an occurrence which forms an actual member in the history of the heavenly kingdom. The events of the book of Jonah are to be compared to the appearance of Melchizedek, who, stepping forth from the dark back-ground, appears as the priest of the Most High, and again entirely disappears; the worship of the magi, of whom no one knows whence they came or whither they went; and most of all with the wanderings of Jesus along the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and his intercourse with the city of the Samaritans. How are we to look on such events in the sacred history? They are the positive revelations of a divine purpose, whose historical realization belongs indeed to the future, but which, on account of its reality, cannot be confined in thoughts and words, but now and then must come forth to light and action. What idea is this now, which in this manner is revealed in the history of Jonah? Undoubtedly it is, that the heathen shall turn to their God. This thought has already its root in the *protevangelium*, where the victory is promised to the seed of the woman; this thought is found in the Noachitic covenant, which embraces all nations in the blessing of Noah, according to whom Japhet, by whom the many isles, when the chief power of heathenism is sealed, are peopled, shall be included in the blessing of them; this thought prevails in the enumeration of the nations, in which people and tongues are occasionally left out of the sacred history, to be afterward taken in again. In the covenant with Abraham, the blessing, which is to come on all nations, comes strongly to view. And when the Israelitish kingdom obtained its perfection in Solomon, the same thought developed itself in many ways. When, at last, the kingdom itself fell to pieces, and Israel rushed to his destruction, the hope was awakened that the heathen would one day worship Jehovah; especially powerful was it in the prophets. If ever an idea in the time of the preparative dispensation required some external exhibition, it was this. Jonah was selected as the bearer of this idea. But what a bearer! say they; Jonah, who fled from Jehovah, when he should have carried to Nineveh the message of salvation! Jonah, who in his indignation wished himself dead, because his preaching to the heathen had produced the finest fruit! this Jonah, the bearer of the idea of the conversion of the heathen! And notwithstanding, or much rather even in his weakness this call of the prophet shows itself. That Jonah was a man without faith and feeling is in itself improbable; and, be-

sides, in the history he is called a servant of Jehovah. That the servant of Jehovah exhibited weakness in his call, only proves that the call grasped what was beyond the present. What is expected of a prophet of the Old Testament? We should recollect that the wall of partition between Israel and the heathen was not erected by men, and that, therefore, no one could take it away but Him who could abolish the law with its ordinances. Eph. ii, 15. We should consider that the matter is not the acknowledgment of the hope of a conversion of the heathen; but Jonah is required, so to speak, to enter wholly into the thought of the present conversion of the heathen. Even after the appearing of Christ, all the apostles were not at once capable of this; Peter had to be prepared for a particular mission among the heathen by a special vision, and yet he remained the apostle of the circumcision. Paul only is the apostle of the heathen; in him, that which the history of Jonah intimated as future, has become the living and powerful present. But what was needed also to form a Paul? First of all the removal of the wall of division between Israel and the heathen must precede, effected by the cross of Christ. To this objective side there must be a corresponding subjective side: in him, who from his mother's womb was designed as the apostle to the heathen, (Gal. i, 15,) Judaism must come to such an extreme, that it should destroy itself. This happened to Paul; for through the law he was dead to the law. Gal. ii, 19. But this could not happen, until the law had the gospel no more in itself, as under the old covenant, (comp. Psa. i, xix, cxix,) but separate from it. Whoever, therefore, knows how to distinguish between the Old and New Testament will not wonder that Jonah was no Paul.

This point, which, as far as we know, has never yet been placed in its right light, and, therefore, given rise to many objections to the typical character of Jonah, is rendered still more clear by two analogous examples. Jonah was the bearer of the idea of the conversion of the heathen at a time when the glory of the theocracy was already gone, and destruction hovered over Israel. Israel's connection with the salvation of the heathen commenced not with the ruin of the house of David—it was closely connected with Israel by means of the covenant of Abraham. On this account, even before Jonah, there were occasionally exhibitions of this thought which were connected with particular persons. The history of the theocracy before its fall had two periods; the period of its formation and growth:—the time of the Judges, and the period of its bloom; the time of David and Solomon. Each of these periods had a representative of this idea; the first in Samson, the second

in Solomon. The typical character of Samson is but little acknowledged, but yet cannot be well doubted. On this point the incontrovertible opinion of Vitrino is decisive: "We are well persuaded that every unusual narrative in the sacred Scriptures, which is evidently narrated with care by the sacred writers, diligently and accurately, with all its circumstances, involves some important mystery." —*Typus Simsoni Obs.* ii, p. 552. The love of Samson, who was born in accordance with a solemn and divine announcement, and consecrated from his mother's womb to the Philistine's daughter at Timnath, which love was from Jehovah, (Judges xiv, 4,) forms the middle point of the whole history of Samson. The love of Samson to the daughter of the heathen and hostile Philistine, being of God, is the exhibition of the purpose to receive the heathen at some future time. The exhibition differs from that of Jonah, since the time was different. In the days of Samson, Israel is in the time of his blooming, manly youth; on this account the young man, with giant strength, is the representative of Israel; and heathenism is a young woman, who acknowledges him as her lord and husband. In the days of Jonah the manly power of Israel is already broken, and nothing is left but the word of Jehovah; therefore, the representative of Israel is the prophet, who has nothing else upon which to rely but the divine word. This is, therefore, released from all visible connection with the theocracy, and appears in the streets of Nineveh held only by the invisible hand of Jehovah. But in this again appears the similarity of the two, that Samson, not less than Jonah, sunk under the burden of his idea. The divine love of Samson to the Philistine's daughter changed into sensual desire, and this was the weakness of Samson. Just so is it in the history of Solomon, whose typical character in relation to the daughter of the king of Egypt and to the queen of Sheba is confessed. In the son of David, born king of Israel, is the perfection of the theocracy; therefore, while Samson must go to Timnath, the daughter of Pharaoh is brought to Solomon, and the queen of Sheba comes at his fame, and pays homage to his wisdom. But King Solomon sinks under the love of women not less than Samson.

We conclude, therefore, that so far from Jonah's resistance, and vexation at God's averting judgment from the heathen, being viewed as an objection to his typical character, that it much rather must be considered as something belonging to him from the necessity of the time. But it is important to remark that Jonah, notwithstanding his great weakness, yet accomplished his object; the sailors feared Jehovah, and offered to him, and Nineveh repented



in dust and ashes. Not the youthful strength of Samson, not the royal splendor of Solomon, was to gain the hearts of the heathen, but the invisible power of self-denial and of the divine word. For this reason Jonah was greater than Samson and Solomon, and his sign for the course of history more evident than the sign of them both. Now it is also clear why Jonah had to bring an ineffectual message of salvation to Israel, for the fall of Israel is the way which leads to the heathen. Rom. xi, 11. On every side, therefore, Jonah appears to us as the bearer of the idea of the conversion of the heathen, and, indeed, in precisely the form in which it received its historical beginning and actual existence. Is it now to be wondered at that his history has been received into the collection of prophetic writings? It is clear that it could have no other place.

Now that we have become acquainted with the inner nature of the prophet Jonah, we can easily understand his sign, mentioned in the gospel. The history of Jonah is an incidental exhibition of the history of Him who was sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, but, rejected by his own, became the apostle of salvation (Heb. iii, 1) to those afar off. Eph. ii, 17. This inner connection between Jonah and Jesus by an outer parallelism is made striking and significant: so, as the way of Jonah to Nineveh passed through a three days' burial in the belly of the sea monster, in like manner the way of Jesus to the heathen goes through a three days' burial in the bowels of the earth. That Jonah's remaining in the belly of the sea monster was against his will cannot destroy the parallelism, for this is only the outer accidental sign of an inner relation; so the flight of David before Absalom was a consequence of his sins, without removing the typical relation between the betrayed David and the betrayed Jesus. But notwithstanding the difference between Jonah and Jesus in the subjective position to their three days' burial, yet there is still even in this outer sign a unity. It was particularism which brought Jonah into the depths of the sea, in the belly of the sea monster these limits were violently broken through by him, as the prayer of the prophet proves; Jesus also was born in these particular (German, *particularistische*) limits, for he was made under the law; and it is its full strength, when he says, "I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Matt. xv, 14; comp. x, 5. Therefore these limits must be violently broken through by him; and this happened in the accomplishment of his death, in the three days' rest in the grave: first after this is it said, "Go into all the world and teach all nations." It is now clear why Christ refers to the sign of Jonah as to the last and threatening sign. Many signs had gone before, but the Son

of man had found no faith in Israel; for this reason only the sign of Jonah was left; but this is the sign that the gospel will be taken from the Jews and pass over to the heathen, who will bring forth its fruit. Matt. xxi, 43. Finally, it is not difficult to understand how other closely-approximating parallels might be connected with the middle point of this sign in the three days' burial. It belongs to the imperfection of the typical exhibition, subjected as it was to the law of the time, that the chief mission of Jonah should be to Nineveh; and, on the other hand, his mission to Israel should have a subordinate importance. But Jesus had first to bring to Israel the whole fullness of salvation. This is the reason why the sending of Jonah to the Ninevites is paralleled with the sending of the Son of man to Israel, (Luke xi, 30,) and, therefore, the repenting Ninevites are contrasted with the hardened Jews. Matt. xii, 41; xi, 32.

---

ART IV.—*A Companion to the Book of Genesis.* By SAMUEL H. TURNER, D. D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Interpretation of Scripture in the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and of the Hebrew Language and Literature in Columbia College, New-York. New-York & London: Wiley & Putnam. 1841. Also Stanford & Swords, New-York.

WHEN the numerous commentaries which have been elicited by the sacred text are arrayed before us, our first impressions, like those of the Indian, who saw the ponderous tomes in our libraries, are more apt to prejudice us against them, than to prepossess us in their favor. They seem to furnish an argument against that perspicuity which is justly claimed as an attribute of revelation; and did we allow our ignorance to be our guide, we should pass them by like the rude son of the forest, thinking that it must be a very uncertain religion that requires so much discussion.

It is important, then, to form just ideas of the perspicuity of revelation. The perspicuity of revelation may be one thing, and the perspicuity of Scripture another. The Scriptures contain the clearly-revealed knowledge of God and his will; but this revelation is given in the midst of much other matter more or less dependent on it, or connected with it, and so far illustrative of it; and inclosing it like an envelop, which it is necessary at times to unravel. Hence we may not improperly distinguish between the Scripture and its revelation. The latter may be, and is, a clear and

sufficient communication of the knowledge and will of God ; the former may, and does, partake, in some degree, of the properties incident to records intended for the use or benefit of man. The one may be, and is, clear, because it consists of simple elementary truths ; the other may be perspicuous also, but is necessarily more complex, and hence requires more of the apparatus of human learning to reduce the parts to their original elementary simplicity. Much that is in Scripture is clearly not so much a revelation in *form*, as a history of the revelation itself ; and while the latter is clear and above all ambiguity, the former is necessarily mixed up with details, facts, or modes of delivery, which must not be confounded with the great elementary truths themselves. The one may be clear as the day, while the other may have its circumstantial obscurities ; and these again, so far from being real obscurities, may be, as they are often found to be, but the vista through which the truth is seen, only the more beautiful for its length, and the range of objects through which it carries the eye.

Such we might exhibit as an abstract view of the subject, irrespective of any philological considerations. But to take another view, it seems a reasonable postulate that all Scripture was in all its parts perspicuous, as first delivered or communicated ; that it was clearly intelligible to those who either first received or delivered it as the agents, and hence fully claimed the character of perspicuity in its original freshness and primitive relation. Thus, who can question that every part of revelation as it arose, or was developed to the successive generations, was at least clearly intelligible to the generation to whom it was immediately addressed ? And if obscurity has been growing up around it by the lapse of ages, the defect lies not in the revealed truth itself, but in those who are to receive it. A revelation from God, besides its local and temporary perspicuity, the natural result or concomitant of its very origin, had also a perspicuity for that simplicity and uprightness of mind to which it was in all cases primarily addressed ; and the want of which, besides any additional obstructions, must create its own peculiar difficulties in proportion as men have receded from the love and the practice of the truth. Here, then, are two natural causes not in the revelation of God, but in man himself. To obviate the former, by making revelation naturally as clear to one generation as another, implies a constant miracle : to obviate the latter, by making ungodly men as capable of receiving the truth as their contraries, would be more than a miracle ; an anomaly greater than a miracle itself in the order of providence. Hence, whether by the natural changes of time, the revolutions of earth, and the mu-



tations incident to our race from one generation to another, or the degeneracy of men, the pure revelation of God must necessarily encounter the defects of the world, always glad to palliate its own blindness by alledging the obscurity of revelation.

A revelation, properly so called, unless we mean by the term every manifestation of the divine Being in his works, must necessarily be in human language; and as language is but the form in which the truth is enveloped, it is evident that this may be in a costume so different from that to which we are accustomed, as to make it difficult to recognize even familiar truth. Hence, in the very nature of things and from the diversity of minds, the difference of opportunities and culture, and the ten thousand causes which operate to elevate or depress, to enlighten or to keep in darkness, men must be more or less competent to receive even a revelation. To suppose any other case, is to suppose one that would supersede even revelation itself, a miracle on the minds of men constantly repeated in every individual case; a much greater miracle than even revelation itself.

But it is not our intention to write an apology for revelation: what has been done by so many able hands would be now, *Iliadem post Homerum*. Our object is rather to meet an objection to the perspicuity of revelation, from the professed friends of revelation itself; who, for purposes ostensibly catholic, are willing to sacrifice the perspicuity of the Bible, that they may the more securely hold their peculiar views of what they call catholic truth; and hence deprecate or approve every fresh effort to elucidate the sacred text, as an encroachment on true catholicity. It is for friends like these, too, that it may be necessary to add a word on the value of exegetical principles. Admitting the distinction stated above, between revelation and Scripture, we see that the former may be, as it is, sufficiently perspicuous for the express purposes of salvation, while the latter may be subject to the obscurities incident to every communication given in human language. The principles of interpretation are concerned chiefly with the latter. The former stands not independent, it is true, of the latter, but still sufficiently distinct and prominent to obviate confounding expressly-revealed truth with what may be called its accidents. Hence, every objection falls away that might probably arise from the necessary connection between Scripture and revelation. It is with the Scriptures, as Scriptures, that interpretation is busied; revelation itself remains untouched in the process of exegesis, unless it be to educe the truths of revelation that lie enveloped in Scripture, and which, so far from being affected injuriously by the latter, rather furnish the

great canon of interpretation itself, while the latter again may be received as but an expansion of the former.

The value of Biblical criticism to the studies of theological science can be appreciated only after some familiarity with this department, and the literary apparatus it demands. Not unfrequently it is underrated, as at best but secondary in its importance, as if theology were totally independent of Biblical criticism, and the latter had but little to do with divinity at all. Hence, the diligent study of the original languages is often slighted. Scholarship is estimated not so much by the studies that have an immediate bearing on the Biblical text, as by those that should be deemed only as its fruits, or at best but its auxiliaries.

That there are great leading principles to govern the mind in the important business of all interpretations, seems an obvious inference; and that these principles are common to all writings that are to convey ideas to men, is equally plain. The Scriptures do not claim for themselves any exemption from these principles, high and holy as their sanctions are. They speak unto men the same language that men use, and in this very fact they address themselves, on logical principles, to the same logical principles that have been everywhere recognized. They do not appeal to any new principle, as the very idea of such an appeal would imply a miracle not in the Scriptures, but in our very nature, and therefore to be repeated in every individual case. We, therefore, interpret Scripture by precisely the same helps as we do any book, ancient or modern. And that this is not treating the subject with less reverence than it deserves or claims, must be obvious from the simple consideration, that whatever reverence or sanctity we ascribe to anything human or divine, our reverence can never be diminished by increased intelligence, when this reverence is deserved. The Scriptures can never suffer by any principles of criticism, however rigid.

That there are difficulties in the faithful discharge of this duty, every Biblical critic has felt; and that, too, with so much force, that nothing, perhaps, has at first view appeared so likely to disturb the harmony of the church and to create schisms. And yet so far from this, we seem authorized to believe that nothing is so much calculated to produce the union of charity among pious and enlightened minds. Hence, whatever evils of division criticism may seem likely to create, like many apparent evils it bears its own remedy within it. Its very constituents are made up of the best principles of literary justice; and where such principles obtain, whatever difference in opinion may exist, still that harmony of mind which dispassionate research presumes, is of itself calculated to

preclude jarring collisions. What is said of the liberal arts may be emphatically said of this: *Apertæ Musarum janua*—or what Plato says of Him to whom good men are assimilated: *Αγαθὸς ἦν, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φόβος*.

The work before us, that has led to these remarks, is so unpretending in its title, that in this respect as well as others it forms one of those honorable exceptions in our literature that perform more than they promise. In the inferior qualities of style it is a happy exemplification of the *æquabile et temperatum genus dicendi*;—such as Cicero selected for didactic and philosophical writing. Intended for the sober student of divine truth, it is clear and concise, exhibiting the natural yet chastened tone of the earnest and engaged instructor.

Dr. Turner has, at different times, done important service to the cause of theology by works original and translated, that have secured the thanks of the Biblical student; and we could wish these services had been repaid by some more substantial return than the mere good wishes and thanks of the reader. Our community is not sufficiently prepared to appreciate works like these. Dr. Turner, by his "Notes on the Epistle to the Romans," his translation of "Jahn's Introduction," performed in connection with Professor, now Bishop, Whittingham, his translation of "Planck's Introduction to Sacred Philology," and now by his "Companion to Genesis," has deserved the gratitude of the student, especially so much the more as the very nature of such works, in the present state of our community at least, seems to forbid the idea of any other advantage than the sole consciousness of doing good by serving the cause of sound theological study.

The work consists of three parts, and in the mode of handling these, as well as the division itself, chiefly consists the difference between it and the usual annotations on the text. Dr. Turner does not here profess to exhibit what might be called a running commentary that expands upon every word, a labor that seems superseded by the numerous works of the kind extant; but a bare inspection shows that the object is to furnish the reader with a manual that may facilitate the study of the entire book of Genesis, both as a whole and in its prominent parts, without entering into the meaning of every word as it occurs. We are not, therefore, here presented with remarks on every verse or paragraph in succession, but only such as seem to demand more particular discussion, and that seem to present difficulties, or the important bearing of which is spread before the student to awaken his own diligence, as well as furnish him with the necessary elucidation.



The first part is an Introduction to the Book of Genesis; the second, an Analysis of the Book; and the third contains the Notes on leading terms and passages, necessary to the understanding of the whole.

In the Introduction, after stating the two parts into which Genesis is naturally divided, Dr. Turner proceeds to the important question of its genuineness, and the general arguments in its favor; the unanimous consent of the church both Jewish and Christian, the consent of heretics, the voice of the fathers, conspiring to establish what indeed the church has ever held as beyond dispute.

And yet like all other truth, however well secured by proof, this, too, has had its adversaries. Whether from a love of novelty or singularity, even Jews have raised the voice of doubt on the entire genuineness of the book, and attempt to point out interpolations, if not to call in question the uncorrupted preservation of it. For an account of these we must refer the reader to the pages of the work.

It has ever been an important inquiry, what were the sources from which Moses derived his account of events recorded in Genesis? Immediate revelation, oral tradition, written documents, are all regarded as the fountains from which the book has been derived; but with regard to the composition, or the use made of these sources, attempts have been made at different times to establish its documentary and fragmentary character. Although such a view, could it be established, is not incompatible with its inspiration, or at least a special providence in the compilation, yet as there is no necessity for such a view, as is fully shown by Dr. Turner, so we may the more confidently, with some of the ablest critics, as, for example, Rosenmüller, decide on its rejection.

This part of the subject, however, is intimately connected with an interesting exhibition of the data supposed to be furnished by the very names applied in Genesis to designate the supreme God. The advocates of the fragmentary theory have laid great stress, in support of their views, on the exclusive use of the names Elohim, Jehovah, Jehovah Elohim, El, as characteristic of certain sections of Genesis, and in their opinion indicative of different authors. The history of this theory is given by Dr. Turner from Astruc down to its later advocates, Ilgen and Eichorn; which is followed by a review of different opinions held by eminent critics, Jewish and Christian, all calculated to awaken a deep interest, and embodying an amount of research that can only be estimated by a perusal of the work, and a reference to the authorities.

The Analysis forms the second part of the work, and furnishes a lucid exhibition of the facts and events recorded in Genesis,

resolved into their natural divisions, so as to present a survey of the whole book in the usual historical connection of cause and effect; following up the order of events as they are developed, and their dependence. This analytical survey is admirably adapted both to interest the reader in the closer study of the text, and to show the intimate relation of the several parts. It partakes of history without its details, keeping in view the train of circumstances and events, but so exhibiting their evolution as to form a clew to the whole. While it sketches, it also fills up the occasional vacuum that seems to break the continuity in the text; and, more adapted to the student than the general reader, it is rather a help to the future expounder, than either paraphrase or history.

What we consider, however, the most important and interesting portion, is contained in the copious Notes forming the third part of the work. Although we may dissent from the learned author in some views there exhibited, and on others, our interest in the subject has led us to wish he had extended his discussions; yet it is particularly to these we would refer to appreciate the work. These Notes may be regarded as an appendix to the analytical part, where the reference may be found. Many of them are so many dissertations on the text or subjects, all of the first importance to the Biblical student. Were it compatible with our limits we should give copious extracts from these: but with a few references we shall leave the reader to form his opinions by examining for himself; simply premising, that as the work is particularly calculated for the student, its merit cannot be estimated by a superficial perusal.

The first ten words of the Bible open a subject of the deepest interest, and this is discussed in Note 3d. Whether "the beginning," there spoken of, is the beginning of the universe, the beginning of our solar system, or the beginning of our earth, has been a question often agitated. The term is obviously relative, and the immediate connection seems to refer to our solar system; yet so comprehensive is the expression, that we should have no hesitation to refer it to the universe. Another inquiry has often been raised on the precise import of the word בְּרָא, whether it mean, *to create*, or *give existence*, or, like עָשָׂה or יָצַר, simply *to form*, or *make*. The import of these words is discussed with suitable brevity, more particularly as the subject has been amply treated by Gataker in his "Adversaria," to whom Dr. Turner refers.

In Note 6th, the import of the expression, "God said," is referred to the simple manifestation of the divine will. And that this is a just view of the words seems evident on a moment's reflection. It

cannot be supposed that it implies *audible* articulate language, as it is not necessary even in common speech always to understand the phrase thus. The words, "He said," are as applicable to the language of signs employed by the deaf and dumb, as they are to those who literally articulate. An expression of the divine will, therefore, is all that is necessary to understand here. Nor does this militate against the ordinary sense in other parts. Dr. Turner has thus guarded the expression against the sneers of the sciolist, as well as the scruples of the weak.

On the word רָקִיעַ, Note 7th, Dr. Turner solves the apparent difficulty by a reference to the more or less comprehensive sense of the word. The Scriptures neither do, nor can, contradict a sound philosophy; nor, on the other hand, can the latter militate against the former. Some may see no difficulty in what, perhaps, may be very perplexing to others. The internal feeling of the former is not necessarily faith, neither is that of the latter necessarily skepticism. The one may be want of thought, as much as the other the excess of it. Seeing no difficulties, and making no effort to obviate them, is no proof of piety. The reply of Simonides to the Thessalonians, when they boasted of having been deceived by his poetry, might often apply to those who profess to see no difficulties in Scripture; and much more, perhaps, to those who see no necessity to obviate them, ἀμαθῆσεν οὖν ἐσε.

In Note 8th, Dr. Turner, on the creation of the sun and moon subsequent to the light, obviates the discrepancy by understanding the text as implying simply the first appearance of the heavenly bodies to a supposed spectator on the earth. The impression on such a spectator would be that this was the day of their creation; and it is, therefore, represented accordingly. The opinion is supported by good reasoning, and its coincidence with the opinions of some of the most learned fathers of the church, as well as many others, may well challenge our respect. Still to some there may be a difficulty in understanding the word *made* (Gen. i, 16) in any other than its literal primitive sense; and then the difficulty is how the light and the heavenly bodies could be said to be created on different days. This difficulty is grounded, of course, on the idea that the sun is the *source* of light to our planetary system. But if the discoveries of philosophy on the nature of light be true, it would seem that the sun is merely a mass in the centre of our planetary light, and not the source of it. Consequently, light being entirely independent of the sun, which is not a vast globe of fire, as was formerly taught, but a mass of matter subject itself to the influence of light, the objection to the literal meaning of the text necessarily



falls away. Although this sufficiently obviates the objections of a literalist, yet the view of Dr. Turner accords so well with what we understand of the nature of things, that it cannot fail to recommend itself to the sober judgment. As to the opinion that the heavenly bodies are *signs*, in any other sense than the natural phenomena of the current year, we have been equally surprised with the author that any such opinion should have been held.

Note 9. Much has been written on the meaning of the plural Elohim. Whether it is to be regarded simply as the name of the supreme God, as a *pluralis excellentiæ*, or designedly to convey the idea of plurality in unity, have been questions agitated upon it. The views of Rashi, given by Dr. Turner, are ingenious; but it would seem necessary to translate the word as a plural, if they were tenable.

In Note 10th there is a discussion on the nature of the divine image; and Dr. Turner justly reproves the opinion that Moses could have had ideas of a material image, as seems inferable from the words of Augustin, quoted in this note. The words of the father, however, in reference to the form of the body and its erect stature, may be regarded rather as a passing remark, inasmuch as he had already expressly said, *Neque tamen hoc secundum corpus, sed secundum intellectum, &c.*

In Note 12th the paradisiacal origin of the sabbath is clearly established. The error is properly rebuked, of its being a day of mere indolent repose; and the genuineness of Ex. xx, 11, and xxxi, 16, 17, and Deut. v, 15, 22, vindicated from the suspicions raised by Professor Palfrey. This writer, restricting the institution of the sabbath to the purposes of repose merely, also impugns its paradisiacal origin. Our limits do not permit us to spread the arguments on these pages, but the insufficiency of the professor's reasons will be the more apparent from the very fact that they materially affect, if not virtually destroy, our ideas of that special Providence under which Moses penned his account.

Another opponent on a more general topic occurs in the late work of Dr. P. J. Smith. The aim of Dr. Smith, ostensibly, is to reconcile Genesis with geology and physical science generally: but whether Dr. Smith does not indulge imagination too much, in regard to the meaning attached by the inspired writers to certain terms and their supposed ideas of certain phenomena, we must leave the reader to decide.

There are two classes of interpreters that have taken opposite grounds, not to say extremes; and it may be difficult to say which

of the two have been most injurious to sound Biblical interpretation. On the one hand, there are those who think that all revealed truth must be laid down with mathematical precision, in close logical definitions, axioms, and postulates, and who, on this presumption, interpret accordingly. On the other, some presume everything in Scripture to be given in vague and indeterminate language. We might well apply to both these classes of expounders what Eustathius says of the scholiasts on Homer. Some clip the wings of the poet so as to allow no power to soar; others swell his style with figures and allegories to such a degree that he seems to be telling us of naught but his dreams: *ὥς ἐν οὐνεύροις ἡμιλεῖν δοκεῖ*. The truth lies in the middle ground. Let the Scriptures be interpreted with all reasonable allowance for the imperfections of human language, and all its peculiarities, negative and positive, and we shall not fail to find them consistent with themselves. Dr. Smith endeavors to make it appear that the Hebrews understood by the word *רָקִיעַ* "a solid concave hemisphere." That this is altogether gratuitous is shown in the note, not to mention the inconsistencies which appear on the face of Dr. Smith's theory. Whatever be the signification of *רָקִיעַ* or its root, even should that be correctly expressed by *firmamentum*, or *σφραγμα*, it no more follows that the sacred writers attached the idea of a solid concave surface, than it would from our word *expanse* or *stratum*, that we mean always that which is solid. Both of these words we know are in their derivatives applied to solids, and yet by the former we generally mean a simple *spreading out*, while we speak of *strata of air*, as well as *strata of earth*.

But the book of Genesis abounds with subjects of the greatest interest to the critic, the philosopher, and divine. As it furnishes the first ideas of religion, so it exhibits the first data of all science, without pretending to any but what relates to God and the welfare of man. Many of the notes in the "Companion" are ample and interesting discussions, exhibiting originality without affecting novelty, and independent thought, without disregarding the cautions of authority and ancient consent.

Besides the notes already referred to, we would invite particular attention to the following, the subjects of which we shall only mention. Note 19, on the serpent and the exposition of the fall. Note 27, on the nature of Abel's faith. Note 64, on the race of the Amalekites. Note 74, on the phrase *עַל-פָּנָי*. Note 81, on the name *אֲדָמִי*, as applied to one of the angels that appeared to Abraham. Note 97, on the offering up of Isaac. Note 104, on the expression *אֵשׁ חַם*, applied to Jacob. Note 107, on the decep-

tion practiced by Jacob. Note 129, on the term שָׁלֹחַ. Note 141, on the Idumeans, descendants of Ishmael. Note 145, on the chronological difficulties of chapter xxxvii. Note 154, on the antipathy of the Egyptians to the Israelites. The notes on the forty-ninth chapter form an ample commentary, with some full dissertations on particular interesting passages. One of prominent interest is that on the celebrated prophecy of Jacob, page 371. The word Shiloh, on which so much has been written, is examined in a discussion of nine or ten pages, ample without being tedious. The version given by the author deviates from the received translation; and besides a more exact adherence to the original, exhibits the parallelism of its poetry to much greater advantage. This is one of the most valuable parts of the work.

There is one feature in the whole which we think cannot fail to commend itself to the good sense and the good feelings, if not the full approval, of all. It is characterized throughout by a tone of moderation, candor, and mildness, that smooths even the asperities of controversy. When we feel ourselves in the right, nothing is more natural than to think that we may treat the persons as well as opinions of others, who stand on opposite grounds, without ceremony. And even the cool and sober philosophy of criticism has often forgotten the common courtesy that is expected from liberal minds, and in place of decent argument has sometimes descended to the *odium theologicum*, as if it were a shorter way to accomplish its ends. It is gratifying to see men of eminent standing giving a better, not to say a more Christian and gentlemanly tone to such discussions. It is certainly the only course favorable to truth. Whatever temporary gratification the keen and caustic may give to parties in theology, it is at best but a weak expedient and worse substitute for the strength of argument. It may serve to stimulate a flagging appetite incapable of relishing sober truth; but as such an appetite, once indulged, requires new stimulants on every fresh occasion, the dose must be constantly increased or varied with every repetition, to prevent the languor of a sickly taste. All such artificial stimulants are thus to the mind what their prototypes are to the body. They mature the very disease they seem to prevent, not to mention the injury inflicted on those who are the more immediate objects of this pungency, the consequences of which may be a little exultation to the assailant, but bitterness and alienation from the truth in the assaulted. The roughness and rudeness of criticism in former days were a reproach to theology. The times might be offered as an apology for Luther, and even the supercilious Scaligers might be excused by the consideration;



but we have been led to believe that the spirit of Christian decorum is better understood, if not more generally practiced, at the present day than it was in theirs; and what, therefore, was some palliation then, can hardly be urged now. The *suaviter in modo* need not detract from the *fortiter in re*, whatever be the prominence of the latter.

There is another feature which cannot fail to be observed by the critic; we mean the judicious use made of the cognate literature in illustration of Genesis. Nothing would have been easier than, with scarcely a smattering of the sister languages of the Hebrew, to swell the pages of the work with a parade of quotations, intelligible, perhaps, to one or two in a multitude, but which would throw but little light on the text itself. All such auxiliaries Dr. Turner has evidently reserved for important and necessary cases, where a reference to the cognate languages is only introduced with the greater effect. Rabbinical and Oriental learning are thus made to yield opportunely their appropriate light; and while this contributes to recommend their study as valuable to the critic, the absence of display proves that learning is not necessarily pedantic.

Finally, we may notice the manly, yet moderate and deliberate manner in which the research contained in the work is presented. With a proper deference for all authority that has a just claim to be heard, the author applies himself to the nature of the subject itself, and from the result of individual research, which in this case is more than private interpretation, we think we have here seen the truth corroborated from the soundest sources of exposition. Whether the work has taken sides sufficiently to satisfy the demands of any party, we leave to the reader to decide: but the author certainly deserves the thanks of those who, with himself, can appreciate the difficulties of such a work amid the various tendencies of our day. Whether we call what we seek catholic truth or revealed truth, it is after all truth that we seek; and every effort, every approximation to it in this world of error deserves the thanks of reasonable men. One of the difficulties of the interpreter in these tomes is, that he may be compelled by his own convictions occasionally to give up what may be regarded by some as catholic truth; or to maintain ground apparently without the sanction of some venerable name: or else to ascribe a sense for which he sees no sanction in the sacred text. In such cases he can hardly expect a general acclamation, though he may console himself with saying, *Magis amica veritas*,—or respond with the old dramatist to the murmurs of the multitude:

Εγώ δ' ἀκομψος εἰς οἶκον δούναμι λόγον  
 Εἰς ἡλικας δὲ κώλιγους σοφωτερος.  
 Οἱ δ' ἐν σοφοῖς  
 Φαῦλοι, παρ' οἷον μουσικωτεροὶ λέγειν.

The work cannot but be regarded as a valuable contribution to our expositions, and still more valuable as a manual for the student. It is calculated to excite and nourish that habitude of mind which should be among the prominent objects of all study, the proper and sober spirit of Biblical research as the only solid foundation of true theology—research based on what is already received as revealed to man; guarded on the one hand by a modest deference to the opinions of the wise and good, and yet free to try them by all the acknowledged standards of the church; whether the consistent voice of the fathers, the abstract voice of reason and its sober deductions, or the united voice of tradition and philology. Let each have a voice wherever practicable, that it may be seen that the church harmonizes with all that is in harmony with God,—reason, conscience, the voice of other days;—that she is at unity with herself, and demonstrates her high and holy origin no less by this unity and harmony, than by her very duration.

It is almost unnecessary to add, that the execution of the work is in the happiest style of the enterprising publishers; its exterior an ornament to the table or library, and its pages relieving the eye by a clear and well-selected type.

- 
- ART. V.—1. *Chironomia; or a Treatise on Rhetorical Delivery: comprehending many Precepts, both Ancient and Modern, for the Proper Regulation of the Voice, the Countenance, and Gesture. Together with an Investigation of the Elements of Gesture, and a New Method for the Notation thereof; illustrated by Many Figures.* By the Rev. GILBERT AUSTIN, A. M. Pp. 583. 4to. London: 1806.
2. *Elements of Rhetoric: Part IV, of Elocution.* By RICHARD WHATELY, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1842.

THE qualifications of the orator are twofold—original and acquired. Neither of these, separated from the other, can produce any high degree of perfection in oratory; nor is the inquiry,—whether nature or cultivation contributes *most* to the perfection of

oratory,—of any great practical interest. Since, however, the inquiry is often put, it may not be amiss to give it a brief consideration, especially as this may throw some little light, at the very outset, on the views we intend to present in this paper. If a separation be supposed between natural and acquired talents, then it is obvious that the former may produce valuable results without the latter; while the latter can produce nothing without the former. Just as the fertile field can be to some extent productive without cultivation; while no degree of cultivation can perfect a crop on a soil absolutely barren. And if united, and in about equal degrees, that is, where some little cultivation only is superadded to the natural talents, more is undoubtedly to be referred to nature than to cultivation. But if we suppose the natural and acquired talents to unite in the highest proportions, so as to produce a finished orator, then, doubtless, he owes more to his acquired talents than to nature; as the vast crop gathered from the most fertile and most highly-improved fields is owing more to the cultivation than to the natural fertility of the soil. To change the figure, nature furnishes the Parian marble in the block; and this, though untouched by the chisel, may be more valuable, even, than the statue wrought from the rough granite; but cultivation is the art which polishes the block and adds to its original value, however great, a hundred fold. The practical inferences from this view are, that mere acquirements can never supply the place of natural endowments, and that there can be no natural endowments that may not be improved by cultivation.

That we may not be misunderstood, we will distinctly state what we mean by the *original* or *natural* talents, essential to perfection in oratory, as distinguished from the *acquired*. They are, *first*, good mental endowments. And among these may be enumerated such *intellectual* qualifications as are involved in the powers of reasoning, invention, memory, judgment, and observation;—such a development and balance of the *sensibilities* as shall enable the possessor to combine modesty and confidence—to feel all that he utters, and be suitably moved by the circumstances around him, at the same time that he can always preserve his presence of mind—losing the command of himself neither by fear nor excess of joy, neither by tumult and opposition, nor by applause;—and such an action of the *voluntary* power, as shall give promptness to the delivery, and a resolution which yields only to the dictation of the judgment or of conscience. *Second*, we may mention among the natural endowments, perfect vocal organs; meaning thereby the lungs, the bronchia, the trachea, and the larynx and its appendages.



On the structure of these depend the strength, sweetness, and flexibility of the voice. *Third*, perfect organs of speech; namely, the tongue, the palate, the nostrils, the lips, and the teeth—a slight malformation in any one of which may embarrass the articulation and enunciation of the orator. *Fourth*, a perfect body, free from any mutilation or defect: the stiffness of a single joint, or even the loss of a finger, will be sensibly felt. By a *perfect body*, however, is implied more than this—comeliness of person and a suitable proportion between all the parts. Thus, great corpulency, short arms, or a short and thick neck, are impediments to the exhibition of the highest graces of oratory. And, *fifth*, must be named—natural grace, which, as an original endowment, doubtless depends partly on the person and partly on the mind. “Some,” says Austin, “are so happily formed in person, that all their motions are graceful; and some minds are so noble, that they impart genuine grace to the most uncouth forms.”

All these are enumerated among the *natural* qualifications of the orator: first, because they are all so far dependent on the original constitution of the individual, that no rules or study can produce them, if entirely wanting; and, secondly, because they severally often exist and develop themselves in a very perfect manner, independent of education or culture. If all these should be concentrated in the same individual, and be developed under peculiarly favorable circumstances—the possessor being removed from the influence of bad examples and a perverted public taste, so that all his powers should be brought out by practice, under the guidance of his own good judgment; such a one might make an effective orator without attending specifically to the study of elocution,—might, perhaps, arrive at some degree of perfection in oratory, by the assistance of nature alone. Genius, where it exists, can create rules for itself; and, indeed, sometimes rise above the influence of false rules. But even in such a case, would not the man thus highly gifted find himself improved and perfected by the study of the principles laid down by the geniuses of other times? This would not divest him of any characteristic excellence; while it would at least give him a confidence that he was violating none of the principles of his art. What modern artist has ever attained either great excellence, or great confidence in his skill, who has not made the *chefdœuvres* of the ancient masters a study!

Nature, however, has perhaps never produced such a man. She distributes her favors among her sons, rarely heaping them prodigally upon the head of any one. He who is most richly gifted by nature, if he would become distinguished, must purchase his dis-

tion by labor. If his powers are not educated by study, nor trained and brought under control by practice, though the favored individual may sometimes succeed, matter of fact says, that he will often fail. When the circumstances around him are all propitious, he may exhibit his powers to wonderful advantage; but they will not always be at his command: and thus his success will be unequal, frequently disappointing those who have heard of his fame. This is proverbially the character of that misnomer, *genius*, which never studies. The law is universal, that without study there can be no great excellence;—there can be none, either in oratory or any of the liberal arts.

In a former article,\* we expressed our belief that the principles of elocution can be taught, and so taught as to become practically useful. The work at that time under review led us to remark more particularly on the *voice*, than on *gesture*; and we then promised, that if opportunity should offer, we would extend our remarks so as to cover the whole subject. It is to redeem the pledge then given, rather than to review in detail the works which we have placed at the head of our paper, that we have now taken our pen. To confirm the general view already presented, as well as to introduce some further thoughts on this subject, we will present the reader with one or two quotations from the *Chironomia*, which, though a foreign work, is scarcely the less valuable on that account; since, in everything pertaining to letters, the English and Americans remain *one* people.

“For the ordinary description of men, that is, for the great majority, rules are not only useful, but perhaps indispensable, the better to bring forward and improve the talents which they may possess, and to afford the necessary support, and supply the necessary confidence to the diffident and reserved. And the total want of any regular system of such rules for rhetorical delivery appears to me to be the chief cause of the reproach of frigid indifference which is charged against our public speakers. If other more lively nations contrive to dispense with them altogether, and gesticulate naturally, if not with perfect grace, at least with sufficient expression, the speakers of our islands, as is evinced by fact, cannot with advantage depend solely on nature. But though in our temperate climate the people are less disposed to vivacity of manner, and are not easily excited, yet the cool, the solid, and the cultivated understanding of the British speaker, under the direction of rational principles, and roused into energy on great and interesting occasions, is capable, as well in action as in composition, of all that is graceful and persuasive, and even of all the energetic and irresistible powers of delivery.”—*Preface*, pp. x, xi.

\* Third Series: vol i, July, 1841.

"There may, possibly, be nations whose livelier feelings incline them more to gesticulation than is common among us, as there are also countries in which plants, of excellent use to man, grow spontaneously: these, by care and culture, are found to thrive also in colder countries, and by a little study we shall equal the most favored nations. With respect to the delivery of an orator, in all its refinement and necessary circumstances, the fact appears to be, that it belongs to no particular people to the exclusion of others; and that it is not the gift of nature more than other high acquirements; but that it is the reward of arduous labor, under the guidance of consummate art. We admit the French to have more facility in learning this art than ourselves, the French allow the same superiority to the Italians, the Italians to the Greeks; but in truth the gift is not gratuitous to any people. Gracchus labored incessantly, Cicero labored incessantly, Hortensius labored, Demosthenes, Æschines, Isocrates, labored; which of all the celebrated orators has not labored? or which of them can be said to owe his fame merely to the gift of nature, as the indigenous soil from which he sprung? If a standard of comparison could be found, hardly would the British actors, whose excellence is chiefly confined to this one branch of eloquence, delivery, lose in comparison with either moderns or ancients of other nations; and what the talents, the industry, and the professional acquirements of our actors have accomplished, can we doubt would be accomplished with equal success by our orators, if they brought into action equal industry and equal professional learning? It is not because the British orators are incapable of the most consummate perfection in the art of delivery, that this perfection is hardly to be seen among them; but because perfection in this, as in all other arts, is a work of labor and of time."—*Introduction*, pp. 11, 12.

We believe the views here presented are in consonance with those of Addison, Sheridan, and the English writers generally, so far as they intimate, that nature has not been partial to the British islanders in the bestowment of the powers of eloquence; nor have we any evidence that there has been any special provision in favor of their descendants in America. Few, among our best-educated men, exhibit any very extraordinary spontaneous powers of eloquence. We are not, however, among those who believe, that there are wanting in this branch of the Anglo-Saxon race any of the essential requisites to a perfect oratory; nor are we at all certain, that these have ever been possessed in a higher degree by any people. Labor is the price to be paid for this divine power; and this price we have, heretofore, with few exceptions, been unwilling to pay. The fact is, *the best natural qualifications for oratory may exist, and yet no excellence be attained.* To this proposition we will give one moment's attention.

The voice of antiquity on this question is, "that eloquence [oral eloquence] is unattainable *but by art*; that it requires study, prac-



tice, and imitation." "The longest life," adds Quintilian, "is short enough to acquire it." But whence originated this idea? We naturally and very properly revert to the history of eloquence, as acquired and practiced by the great masters, for the answer. And on this subject, the name of Demosthenes can never become hackneyed. "Let us, then," exclaims Cicero, "imitate Demosthenes. Gracious gods! what else, I beseech you, do we attempt, or what more do we wish? Yet still we shall never reach his perfection." And Rollin says, "Demosthenes, among orators, is the standard which every one must necessarily follow who aspires to true eloquence." Demosthenes, by nature, had the *intellectual* endowments essential to perfection in oratory; and for aught we know, he may have possessed, in some degree, comeliness of person. As regards *natural* qualifications, we shall see that little more than these can be claimed for him. After one of his early failures, Eunomus, the Thrasian, found him wandering in a dejected condition in the Piræus, and addressing him, said, "You have a manner of speaking very much like that of Pericles, and yet you lose yourself out of mere timidity and cowardice;" and it was long before he acquired a confidence which would sustain him amidst a popular tumult. "When he happened," says Plutarch, "to be put in disorder by the tumultuous behavior of the people, Demades often rose up to support him in an extemporaneous address." He suffered great weakness of voice, had a marked hesitation and stammering in his speech, and, by a "natural impediment," pronounced L instead of R. The graces of gesture, according to Lucian, he learned at a late period of life; and his ancient biographers agree in saying, "he had by nature no facility in acquiring these." So great and numerous, indeed, were his natural defects, that though in very early life he set his heart on becoming an orator, at the age of thirty-two "he had acquired no name or power in the administration." To overcome these defects, as well as to acquire the positive excellences of delivery, he built himself a subterranean study. "Thither," says Plutarch, "he repaired every day to form his action, and exercise his voice; and he would often stay there for two or three months together,—shaving one side of his head, that, if he should happen to be ever so desirous of going abroad, the shame of appearing in that condition might keep him in." The final results proved that Demosthenes was wanting in none of the essential elements necessary to render him the standard and model of all who aspire to true eloquence. And yet, if at any time prior to the age of thirty-two, he had, with the thousands who have succeeded him, become discouraged, and abandoned the pursuits of oratory, or, with thou-

sands more, though following these pursuits, had become content with an inglorious mediocrity of fame, who of our readers would ever have heard of *Demosthenes* !

It was much the same with the great Roman orator. He early studied elocution under Philo, the most distinguished of the Romans for his eloquence. When he came to the bar, however, he learned by experience, that even then his voice had not been sufficiently trained ; it was "harsh and unformed," and as he became excited in pleading, it always rose to too high a pitch, so as to endanger his health. He, therefore, laid aside the business of his profession and traveled into Asia, and visited the island of Rhodes, for the express purpose of perfecting his vocal powers, and bringing his voice to a pitch which his constitution would bear. At Rhodes he studied under the rhetorician Apollonius ; and among the rhetoricians of Asia he availed himself of the instructions of Xenocles, Dionysius, and Menippus. So intent was he on his purpose, that, according to Plutarch, "he suffered not a day to pass without either declaiming, or attending the most celebrated orators." As to natural grace in gesture, the same biographer says, "that his turn for *action* was naturally as defective as that of *Demosthenes*, and therefore he took all the advantage he could from the instruction of Roscius, who excelled in comedy, and of *Æsop*, whose talents lay in tragedy." Thus Cicero labored to improve and educate his natural powers. It remains only to remark, that though possessing, as he must have done, all the substantial natural requisites to a perfect orator, yet had Cicero done, as do thousands of young orators of our day, whose voices prove inadequate to the business of public speaking,—had he continued his public efforts, neglecting his private practice, he might have died ingloriously, as they die, and the only record of him would perhaps be, "that Cicero, a young man of some promise, applying himself too assiduously to the business of his profession, came to an untimely end. His voice failing him, he retired to a quiet country-seat, where his powers both of mind and body wasted away, till he died at the age of —." And this would have served as the epitaph for numbers who annually go down from public life, in silence, to the grave ; but who, had they followed his example, might have been, for aught any one knows or can know to the contrary, the *Ciceros* of their age.

The position, that the best natural qualifications are insufficient of themselves to insure excellence in oratory, is then established by the experience of two of the greatest orators that have ever appeared among men ; and it need only be added, that *a single* deficiency, as, for example, weakness of vocal powers, or a bad

articulation, may prove sufficient, if left uncorrected, to counteract the effect of the best natural endowments.\* Other defects, also, than those which are natural, may prove thus detrimental. Those which we have noticed in the two great orators of antiquity were not *all* of them, perhaps, natural. Faults, fatal to the effect of delivery, may have their origin in mere inattention, or in the imitation of some bad model. Faults of action, and even of intonation, may arise from diffidence and consequent embarrassment; and may go on to a destructive length, for the want of the judicious suggestions of some critical friend. Few speakers can perceive their own faults, till they are pointed out by another. Even weakness of the vocal organs may be superinduced, where there is no natural deficiency, by the sedentary habits and the close confinement of the scholar. Is it a matter of wonder, then, that with so total a neglect of this branch of education as now almost universally prevails, many go out from our colleges, our law schools, and our theological seminaries, but to meet *disappointment* in their earlier efforts, and final failure of the hopes both of themselves and their friends!

Excellence in oratory, then, is to be the result of *education*. The great objects of all education are, first, to direct the development of those powers which nature has liberally bestowed: second, to draw out and train with peculiar care those which are naturally weak: and, third, to guard against all irregular action in these powers, and to correct all acquired faults. These are the principles on which the education of the orator should be conducted. The general education has, for its main object, to develop the mental powers—to train the intellect, the sensibilities, and the will; while it is reserved, as the appropriate office of elocution, to train the voice, the speech, and the action. To this last-named training, if the slightest confidence can be placed in their own representations, or in those of their contemporaries, did the distinguished orators of both Greece and Rome owe all their fame. How much, as regards the quality, the intonations, the compass and the flexibility of the voice, depends on education! Distinctness of articulation, and a clear and perfect enunciation, can rarely be said to depend

\* "One thing I must premise; that, without the assistance of natural capacity, rules and precepts are of no efficacy. Therefore, this treatise [on delivery] is no more intended for those who are entirely wanting in capacity, than a treatise upon the improvement of lands is applicable to barren grounds. Besides, nature throws in other aids, voice, strength of lungs, health, resolution, comeliness; *all of which are improvable by art, if nature contributes to them but a little: though they are sometimes so defective, that they spoil even what is valuable in genius, and in application.*"—*Quint. Inst. of El.—Int.*



at all on nature ; so entirely are they the results of education. And, as to action, whatever of natural grace may in rare cases be possessed, all the grace which either Demosthenes or Cicero ever exhibited was the result of education. These are called the *external graces* of oratory ; and by the ancients they are frequently all embraced under the term *action*, which is, therefore, equivalent to the word *delivery*, as used by modern writers on elocution.

When an acquisition is to be made for which a price must be paid—the price of time and of labor—the *value* of the acquisition is the most important consideration. What value, then, is to be attached to these external graces—to this “action?” To settle this question, we must call up the testimony of men competent to judge, and let them speak for themselves. When Demosthenes was asked, what was the *first* requisite in speaking, he answered, “Action;” and when asked, what was the *second* and the *third*, he answered as before.\* It has been suggested that his failure, before he cultivated delivery as an art, and his extraordinary success afterward, led him to overvalue this ; and yet we shall scarcely find this judgment reversed by any one among all who have either cultivated eloquence, or who have written on the subject of elocution. Cicero, after enumerating the parts of oratorical composition, says :—“But all these things have their effect, just in proportion as they are delivered. Action, I say, bears absolute sway in oratory.”† Quintilian says :—“To premeditate a set of sentiments and words, is of less consequence than the manner of their being delivered.” And again :—“I will venture to say, that even an indifferent pleading, when enforced by the powers of action, will have more success than the very best composition, if destitute of that recommendation.”‡ This he confirms by referring to Hortensius, who was the rival of Cicero, and was never accounted to be inferior to any but him ; and yet whose compositions do not at all answer to such a reputation. “From this circumstance,” he remarks, “we must think a great deal of his merit lay in his action, because we cannot find it in his works.” About the period of the revival of letters, many valuable works appeared on this subject. Cressollius, a Jesuit of Britany, wrote a treatise upon the perfect action and pronunciation of an orator, published at Paris in 1620. Caussin, also of the order of Jesuits, wrote about the same time. The latter says :—“It has always been observed, that those speakers who excelled in action, carried (as they say) their point. And therefore it was

\* See Cic. de Orat., l. iii, c. 56.

† Ibid.

‡ Inst. of El., l. xi, c. 3.

not without reason that Demosthenes recognized it as the first, if not the single, excellence in oratory.\* Nor has the testimony of modern times been less conclusive. The Abbé Maury, one of the most distinguished members of the National Assembly of France, at the period of the Revolution, wrote a lucid treatise on eloquence. "After a sermon has been composed," says he, "and even committed to memory, much still remains for the orator to execute; for the success of the composition depends upon the manner of delivery." And after discussing the elements of a good delivery to a considerable extent, he adds:—"Such are the innocent artifices which a Christian orator may render subservient to the success of his ministry."† Addison says:—"It is certain, that proper gestures and vehement exertions of the voice cannot be too much studied by a public orator."‡ Rollin says:—"We often observe that an indifferent discourse, supported by all the force and by all the graces of action, produces greater effect than the most excellent composition which is stripped of these ornaments."§ Chesterfield, writing to his son, says:—"Your fate [as a member of parliament] depends on your success as a speaker; and, take my word for it, that success turns much more upon manner than matter. Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Murray, the solicitor general, are beyond comparison the best speakers. Why? only because they are the best orators." And again he remarks:—"Ornaments are at present your only objects."|| Walker says of action:—"Its power is much greater than that of words."¶ Bayle says:—"An indifferent harangue, being recited by an excellent orator, may charm the hearers. *Action is almost all.*"\*\* An expression of our own Wirt, when attempting to set forth the wonderful oratorical powers of Patrick Henry, tends to the same conclusion. "If," says he, "we are to consider as really and entirely his, those speeches which have been already given in his name to the public, or are now prepared for them, there can be no difficulty in deciding, that his power must have consisted principally in his delivery. We know what extraordinary effects have been produced by the mere manner of an orator, without any uncommon weight or worth of matter."†† Dr. Potter says:—"With these gifts, [the powers of thought and feeling,] which raise men far above the brute creation, God has coupled

\* Caussin, l. ix, Proem.

† Principles of Eloquence, sec. lix.

‡ Spectator, No. 407.

§ Rollin, Belles Lettres, vol. ii, p. 628.

|| Chesterfield's Letters by Gregory, pp. 294, 309.

¶ Elements of Elocution: Philadelphia, 1811, p. 361.

\*\* Dictionary: Art. "Pericles."

†† Sketches of the Life of Henry, pp. 423, 424.

powers of expression which are equally pre-eminent, and without which, those gifts would have been all but useless. But such gifts and powers, as bestowed by nature, are by no means perfect. Until duly trained, they are crude, irregular, and impulsive. It is the object of culture to unfold them, to give them expansion and vigor, and to subject them to the perfect dominion of the will.\* And Dr. Porter, than whom few in our country have been better qualified to judge, has said:—"The importance of delivery, in professions where it is the chief instrument by which one mind acts on others, is so obvious as to have given currency to the maxim, that an indifferent composition, well-delivered, is better received in any popular assembly, than a superior one delivered badly. In no point is public sentiment more united than in this, that the usefulness of one, whose main business is public speaking, depends greatly on an impressive elocution. This taste is not peculiar to the learned or the ignorant; it is the taste of all men."† To these authorities, we will add the single consideration, that to their voice and gesture alone, Garrick, Mrs. Siddons, and the other eminent theatrical performers, owe all their fame. On the stage, *the manner is ALL*.

These external graces, then, are essential to the finished orator; and, according to Cicero, if possessed at all by any one, they must be *acquired*. "No man," says he, "is an orator, who has not learned to be so." In full accordance with this, Dr. Porter writes to a professor in a theological seminary, who had addressed him on this subject:—"Upon the whole, I have become fully satisfied, as the result of experience, that no man becomes possessed of an interesting and impressive delivery, except as the result of pains and patience in preparatory discipline."‡ By the quotations we have just made, some idea may be formed as to what he loses of usefulness and of fame, who enters on the business of public speaking without this "preparatory discipline." This can best overcome the restraints arising from bashfulness or timidity, and can alone give to the speaker a well-founded confidence in himself. This alone can bring out his natural powers, and place them fully under his control, or teach him to conceal unconquerable defects. Especially is this discipline needed to bring the sensibilities of the speaker under his command, so that his feelings shall rise or fall at his bidding. This alone can give him the discrimination necessary to prevent the formation of bad habits connected with his voice, his person or his action; or to correct them, if already acquired. The

\* Introduction to *Maury's Principles of Eloquence*.

† Analysis of Delivery, chap. i.

‡ Letter iv, appended to Lectures on Homiletics, &c.



graces which this preparatory discipline gives, and which are exhibited in every movement of the speaker, of themselves conciliate the favor and bespeak the attention of an audience ; and the confidence which it inspires can alone prevent the embarrassment of feeling which the untrained speaker must often experience. These graces add a charm to the most intellectual performances, and often furnish the only means of impressing the weightiest and most sublime thoughts upon the minds of the unthinking. And, what concerns the great majority of speakers more than this, where the highest mental qualifications are wanting, the graces of delivery serve as a very effective substitute ;—men of feebler intellects often producing a stronger impression by the powers of their eloquence, than the best-endowed minds could do without the advantages of a perfect elocution.

These views concerning the *value* of a good delivery, as also concerning the practicability of acquiring a good elocution, are set forth and sustained with great ability in the work of Mr. Austin, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article. This is probably the best treatise on delivery that has ever appeared in any language. He has borrowed sufficiently from the ancients to put the mere English reader very fully in possession of their views and principles ; and by his own valuable comments, and the entire chapters of original matter which he has introduced, has made the work strictly English, and suited it to the age and the state of eloquence at the time it was written. This was forty years ago ; and though some improvement has since been made in oral eloquence, yet so much remains to be done, that the work under notice is as well adapted to our own day as to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Were it not for its scarcity, we would commend it to the perusal of all who would acquire a thorough knowledge of the subject.

In one respect, at least, Bishop Whately's views, in regard to the subject we have under examination, obviously do not differ from those of Mr. Austin ;—that is, as regards the importance of a good delivery. He opens the discussion thus :—

“On the importance of this branch, [elocution,] it is hardly necessary to offer any remark. Few need to be told that the effect of the most perfect composition may be entirely destroyed, even by a delivery which does not render it unintelligible ;—that one, which is inferior both in matter and style, may produce, if better spoken, a more powerful effect than another which surpasses it in both these points ; and that even such an elocution as does not spoil the effect of what is said, may yet fall far short of doing justice to it.”—P. 254.

As regards the practicability of acquiring a good delivery by study, his views are not so clear. Indeed, we believe that most readers would rise from the examination of that part of his work devoted to "elocution" with the impression, that the study of elocution, according to any existing system, is worse than useless; and it is to do what we can to counteract such an impression, that we propose to give this part of the work a brief notice. This work is now extensively introduced into the course of study for the junior members of our conferences; and the impression, that the elocution cannot be improved by study and private practice, taking hold upon the minds of our young preachers just at the time when their habits of delivery are forming, or becoming confirmed, would, in our judgment, do them incalculably more injury than all the good to be derived from the other parts of the book, excellent though they are.

This author commences the discussion of this subject by considering all elocution as *natural* or *artificial*. The natural style he defines and commends; at the same time that he protests against all other styles or systems, under the designation of artificial. The principle on which this natural style is founded is this:—

"Impress but the mind fully with the sentiments, &c., to be uttered; withdraw the attention from the sound, and fix it on the sense; and nature, or habit, will spontaneously suggest the proper delivery."—Pp. 267, 268.

Then comes the "rule" for the acquisition of this style:—

"The practical rule then to be adopted, in conformity with this principle, is, not only to pay no studied attention to the voice, but studiously to *withdraw* the thoughts from it, and to dwell as intently as possible on the sense; trusting to nature to suggest spontaneously the proper emphases and tones."—P. 269.

To this passage there is a marginal note, which remarks, that "a reader is sure to pay *too much* attention to his voice, not only if he pays *any at all*, but if he does not strenuously *labor to withdraw* his attention from it altogether." Subsequently, (p. 305,) the author says:—"It need only be observed, that, in conformity with the principles maintained throughout this book, no *care* should, in any case, be taken to use graceful or appropriate action." *Such* is the system of elocution, as regards both voice and gesture, which is set forth by Dr. Whately, and which is to be studied by him who would acquire the natural style of delivery which he recommends.

Now, most obviously, this is not the mode of arriving at excel-

lence in oratory employed by the ancients, or recommended by us in the former part of this article ; and inasmuch as he condemns *all other* systems of elocution and styles of delivery, it would seem as though our system, in view of this, would meet only with unqualified condemnation. The details of the discussion do not, however, authorize this conclusion ; but, on the mind of the careful reader, leave the impression, either that the author had never seen so perfect systems of practical instruction in elocution as America has now produced, or else that he had less carefully matured this part of his work, than the portions more expressly devoted to rhetoric.

The system of study and practice, to set it forth a little in detail, which our best elementary works present, is this. The articulation and enunciation are first perfected by a set of exercises commencing with the elementary sounds of the language, and going on to include all their various combinations into syllables, words, sentences, and discourse. Then the voice is to be subjected to a regular system of exercise and training to improve its flexibility, compass, force, and quality. After this, the learner may be introduced successively to the various elements of expression, and be made practically familiar with every variety of intonation heard in the delivery of the most perfect orators. He may now be introduced to the elements of rhetorical action, and be made perfectly and practically familiar with all the graces of gesture, as employed by the best orators. Finally, his mind must be deeply imbued with the principles on which the elements both of vocal expression and of action are to be employed. This must be done by study, and by the reading and recitation of multiplied examples of every variety of sentiment ; and all this should be followed by the application of the same principles to the delivery of original compositions before an audience, in the presence of a teacher, and for the purpose of subsequent criticism and correction. All this, so far as possible, is to constitute a part of the elementary education ; and the practice, as in the other departments of study, is to be considered as *preparatory* to the business of life. Still, it is believed, though not properly a part of the system, that the private daily practice of all these lessons may also become a source of incalculable advantage to those who have entered on public life without the previous elementary training.\*

\* The best method, in all respects, for acquiring a finished rhetorical delivery, is the private practice of declamation ; which is supported on the authority of the great masters and models of oratory, Demosthenes and Cicero.—*Chironomia*, p. 548.



According to our best systems of elocution, then, it is proposed, as far as practicable, to make the training of the orator private and preparatory; it must consist in the practice of attitude and action, and in the training of the voice by various elementary exercises, and then by loud reading and declamation, till all the graces of gesture and the elements of vocal expression are reduced to *habits*. The natural style of Dr. Whately, on the contrary, is to be acquired in the actual business of speaking in public, and precludes all preparatory training, and whatever is designed merely as exercise. (See particularly chap. iv, § 2.) Concerning this system we have a few remarks to make.

*First.* This plan of acquiring a good elocution can be successfully practiced, even on the author's principles, by *few*, if, indeed, by any.

"If," says he, "any one spontaneously falls into any gestures that are unbecoming, care should *then* be taken to break the habit; and that, not only in public speaking, but on all occasions. The case, indeed, is the same with utterance; if any one has, in common discourse, an indistinct, hesitating, dialectic, or otherwise faulty, delivery, *his* natural manner certainly is not what he should adopt in public speaking; but he should endeavor, by care, to remedy the defect, not in public speaking only, but in ordinary conversation also. And so, also, with respect to attitudes and gestures."—P. 306.

All, then, who exhibit "in their common discourse" any defects of vocal utterance, or who "spontaneously fall into any gestures that are unbecoming," are, at least, at liberty to attend to elocution "on all occasions;"—that is, are at liberty to adopt our system of private discipline. Here, then, are *two* classes to whose wants our system is adapted. And what shall we say of those who may not, "in common discourse," exhibit any particular defects of delivery, and yet whose elocution becomes defective in some particular, for want, perhaps, of strength or compass of voice, the moment they undertake to address a large assembly? It seems to us, that these at least ought to constitute a *third* class, to whom our system may be beneficial; and we think that the number of young men who would fall into neither of these classes would be very small. We ought, perhaps, however, to inquire in passing, how, since all preparatory study is denied, one is to learn whether his action is always graceful and his vocal expression is as it should be? It seems to us, that this can be best known by a thorough familiarity with the subject.

But if it is important to labor "to break a habit" of unbecoming gesture, or "to remedy the defect" of utterance which may have

developed itself in the practice of speaking; why may it not be as well, by proper discipline, *to prevent the habit*, in the one case, and *to remove the cause of the defect*, in the other? Of what use was it to Demosthenes, that he ever formed the awkward habit of shrugging up his shoulders? or to Cicero, that his weakness and inflexibility of voice remained to be corrected by him after he entered upon the practice of his profession? Till these questions can be answered, who shall say, that our system of preparatory training is not suited to *all* who are candidates for public life?

*Second.* The objections to the system, called by our author *artificial*, do not lie against the system which we adopt. Having thrown together, as constituting the artificial systems of speech, everything which is either opposed to his natural system, or which transcends it, of course, he could not but find much to condemn. He, with some justice, objects to the mode adopted by Sheridan to teach the reading of the church service, as too artificial, and as tending to substitute mere art instead of real feeling. He very justly objects to the teaching of elocution by the recitation of Greek or Latin extracts, or of anything else which the learner does not fully comprehend, or which he commits and recites as a mere task. These specifications might have been carried on to almost any extent, and we might most heartily have united with him in his condemnations. But why point out specific defects, when the whole system is in his estimation radically wrong?

Our author, first, in very general terms, objects to "every system of instruction that has appeared," on the broad ground that all have proved "entirely unsuccessful;" in no instance having produced "a really good delivery." P. 255. Were the greatest orators of antiquity produced on his natural system? If not, they must have been produced on some other; and there is no question on which the world is better agreed, than that theirs was "a really good delivery." And the system on which they practiced is the basis of the one we advocate. Have the celebrated actors of modern times been produced by this natural system? Surely not, since its distinguished author claims for it the attribute of "novelty." They have been formed, then, on some other system—some of our author's "artificial systems." *Acting*, it is true, is not *oratory*; but the wonderful success of Sheridan, who came into the British parliament with the elocution of the stage, which he had learned from his father, as his chief qualification, proves that the actor and the orator are closely related. If Sheridan's was not "a really good delivery," we are not aware that it

has been surpassed by that of any orator yet formed on our author's new system.\*

Another objection to the artificial system rests on the principle which, he says, "runs through all its precepts:"—

"The principle I mean, is, that in order to acquire the best style of delivery, it is requisite to study analytically the emphases, tones, pauses, degrees of loudness, &c., which give the proper effect to each passage that is well-delivered; to frame *rules* founded on the observation of these, and then, in practice, deliberately and carefully to conform the utterance to these rules, so as to form a complete artificial system of elocution."—P. 260.

Even admitting that our system does require him who practices it "deliberately and carefully to conform to its rules," we do not readily see that this would be more objectionable than the requirement of the new system,—that the speaker should "strenuously labor to withdraw his attention from his voice altogether." If it be replied, that this "strenuous labor" is expected to produce a habit of entire inattention to the voice, we answer, that this "deliberate and careful conformity to our rules," would, on the same principle, lead to their ready and easy application. But the objection, as it seems to us, totally fails in its application to our system, when it is understood that the practice which we recommend is mainly *preparatory*, and is to be a constituent part of the education; while it would come with a peculiarly ill grace from the author and advocate of a system, which, eschewing all preparatory discipline, requires even of the public speaker this "strenuous labor" to perform—perhaps, a hopeless task. For how could the speaker be expected "to withdraw his attention from his voice altogether," if, as would often be the case, the voice, for the want of this preparatory training, should be found to be weak, harsh, or unmanageable? Our whole system is based upon the law of habit, so well expressed in the maxim,—*Use is a second nature*. The speaker, then, "deliberately and carefully" conforms to the other

\* The Historical Society of the University of Dublin, formed long since, is represented as having for its chief object exercises in declamation. Of this society, Austin says:—"It owed its existence originally to the spirit of a few of the students, one of whom is now at the head of the university. Perhaps the fashion of the day influenced them; but the fostering care and discerning judgment of the heads of the university cherished and encouraged the institution, and about the year 1770 they gave them laws and regulations, and appropriated, within the walls for their meetings, elegant and commodious apartments fitted up like a little senate-house. *From hence have issued the greater number of all the eloquent men who have since that period adorned our courts of law, our pulpits, and our parliament.*"—*Chironomia*, pp. 212, 213.



rules of his art, only as he imperceptibly, and without thought, may conform to the rules of a perfectly distinct enunciation; and only as the skillful penman, or performer on the musical instrument, moves his fingers according to the nicest rules of art, but confessedly without any attention which can even become a matter of recollection, much less of embarrassment.

The incidental objection, that the application of our rules, on the part of the speaker, "will hardly ever fail to betray his attention to them," (p. 261,) is also lost in the fact, that the practice we propose is expected to produce *habits* of correct speaking; so that there will be in the actual business of speaking little "attention" required—certainly something less than the "strenuous labor" required by the new system. And then, it would be little less than absurd—it would certainly be unfair—to refer the attention which the speaker, on our system, gives to training his voice and gesture, to the desire merely of "gaining approbation," or of "avoiding censure," as distinguished from the "moral excellence implied in the renunciation of all effort after display." Pp. 282, 283. Is it not entirely supposable, that many consider the voice, and the power of oratorical action, as "talents" committed to their care, not for "display," but for improvement; and who thus consider themselves not at liberty to "bury them in the earth?" So we believe they should be considered; and that the studied neglect of them is the *last* thing to be recommended. It would be equally unfair to characterize the elocution acquired by patient industry, as "a very fine elocution," in contradistinction to a forcible and manly delivery. After speaking of the natural manner, he remarks:—"The credit, on the contrary, of having a very fine elocution, is to be obtained at the expense of a very moderate share of pains; though at the expense also, inevitably, of much of the force of what is said." P. 283. When Æschines, at the request of the Rhodians, recited one of the orations of Demosthenes, his rival in oratory, before them, he replied to their expressions of admiration, "What would you have said if you had heard *him* deliver it?" This reply would scarcely seem to indicate that Demosthenes had, by all his study, acquired merely "a fine elocution," or that the oration, as pronounced by its author, was wanting in "force." We find it equally difficult to believe that Sheridan, as he shook the British parliament by the thunders of his eloquence, exhibited only "a fine elocution," which he had acquired at the expense of force or energy of expression. For ourselves, we see no tendency in the study of elocution, as we recommend it, either to deprave the taste or to unsettle the moral feelings; both of which effects would seem to







be implied in the disposition to sacrifice force or propriety for the gratification of temporary applause.

The objection of our author, that the artificial system is but a circuitous way of effecting what nature spontaneously prompts, (pp. 267, 268,) likewise admits of a very brief reply. This objection, and the natural system throughout, seems to assume as an axiom, that nature has endowed every man with all the elements of a perfect oratory, and that all the speaker has to do is to give spontaneous expression to what nature thus prompts. Our system is established on no such assumption; and therefore the objection is not applicable to it. On the contrary, we believe, first, that all the elements of a perfect delivery are rarely, if ever, suggested by nature to any one individual: and, secondly, that in their state of perfect development, they are as rarely, considered even singly, the products of nature alone. It is with orators as with singers: there are very few even of those who become skilled in vocal music, for whom nature has done so much, that we ever call them *natural* singers; and even among those who are thus called, what one has ever been so perfect by nature as to require no discipline? The experience of the world has been, that those who are most gifted by nature, whether as orators or singers, have had many things to *acquire*; and even then, much to do to perfect their more natural endowments. The perfect orator, then, would have to concentrate in himself all the excellences which nature has given singly to her favored sons. Who, therefore, that aspires even to an approximation to perfection, but will see a vast field of improvement before him?—a field, however, waving with the richest harvest, of which he who bears away but a single sheaf will find in it an ample reward for his toil.

*Third.* The preparatory discipline which we recommend would greatly aid the actual speaker in acquiring the natural style of our author. What are the principal requisites to the practical carrying out of our author's system? First, as it seems to us, that the speaker should always be able to feel as he ought: and, secondly, that he should always be able to give an easy, natural expression to such feeling: for a defect in either of these particulars would, doubtless, tend to embarrass him, and to withdraw his mind from the subject matter of his discourse. The familiarity with the various elements of expression, produced by a system of private practice, would promote both these objects, by giving him the ready command of the tones and gestures suited to every kind and every degree of feeling. It would further promote these objects, by giving him a confidence that he is violating none of the principles

of good taste, and by enabling him to speak with perfect ease to himself. When the speaker uses his vocal organs with entire ease, and his voice yields flexibly to the expression of every sentiment he utters, why should he think of his voice? And when he knows that he has by practice acquired habits of graceful action, why should he think of his gestures? In such a case, it would seem to require no "strenuous labor to withdraw his attention from them." But, on the contrary, let him speak with difficulty to himself, or let his voice refuse to give an easy and natural expression to his sentiments, or let it fail him when he wishes to apply force to some word or sentence, however "strenuously he may labor" to do it, his attention will again and again be diverted by it. The same with his gestures. If he has never studied the principles of gesture, so as to know what constitutes graceful action, he will often use gestures which he will at least suspect as being wanting in grace; and this will divert his attention and embarrass his feelings, however "strenuously he may labor" to avoid it. Even after all this private drilling, when he enters on the business of public speaking, the young man will find enough to do to overcome the natural flutter of his spirits, and to rise above the embarrassing influence of the circumstances around him.

We conclude, then, that the system which we propose has at least some elements which even our author would approve. Indeed, we decline to class it among the *artificial* systems, notwithstanding his classification. We believe that Demosthenes, and Cicero, and Sheridan, as well as the most celebrated actors, have employed neither the natural nor the artificial style of our author; but *the style of nature improved by art*.\*

\* In accordance with this view, Quintilian, in his great work, the *Institutes of Eloquence*, says:—"I am sensible it has been matter of dispute, whether eloquence owes most to genius or to learning; but this is a dispute foreign to my subject, because I lay it down as a maxim, that a complete orator cannot be found but by both." L. ii, c. 20. And again:—"Let them enjoy their persuasion, who think that to be born, is sufficient to make a man an orator: they will pardon our labor who think nothing can arrive at perfection, unless when nature is assisted by careful cultivation." L. xi, c. 3.

Aristotle, however, says:—"The talent for theatrical delivery is a gift of nature, and belongs little to art."—*Rhet.*, l. iii, c. 1. He was contemporary with Demosthenes; and is said to have written his Rhetoric under a feeling of jealousy of the glory of that great orator. For modern rhetoricians to copy this sentiment of his, savors just as much of good sense, as it would for them, through his example, to drown themselves in the sea, as he has been said to have done, because he could not explain the tides. As much light has been thrown on the one subject as on the other, since he lived and wrote.

The style of elocution here introduced to the reader consists, so far as mere *manner* is concerned, first, in acquiring the ready command of every element of oratorical expression; secondly, in becoming perfectly familiar with the principles which direct their application to practice; and, thirdly, in becoming deeply interested, when about to make this application in the actual business of speaking, in the subject and the occasion.\* And matter of fact, as well as theory, shows that the last is not inconsistent with the former. Quintilian mentions having seen actors, who, after performing pathetic characters, wept and sobbed for a long time after they had laid aside their masks. And of Mrs. Siddons, the *Encyclopedia Britannica* remarks:—"The scenes in which she acted were to her far from being a mere mimic show; so powerfully did her imagination conjure up the reality, that the tears which she shed were those of bitterness felt at the moment." These were but theatrical performances, and the actors were representing only fictions; and shall not the real orator, as he stands up in support of right, and truth, and justice, in the senate or at the bar, especially the Christian orator, as he rises to deliver the message of God to his fellow-men, be able to forget himself and to become absorbed in the subject? If not, alas for the cause of right, of truth, of justice! alas for the interests of religion! alas for the world!

The example of our own Patrick Henry is sometimes referred to as at variance with the system we have presented. In order, however, to conflict with this system, it must be shown, first, that he became a very perfect orator without study; and then, further, that study would have made him no more perfect than he was. Can *either* of these points be established? What were the elements in Henry's character, considered as an orator, that constituted the basis of his eloquence? We believe the most careful analysis presents but these:—1st, his susceptibility of becoming strongly and powerfully excited on important occasions: 2d, his entire self-possession, even in the midst of the most exciting scenes: and 3d,

\* "A public speaker sometimes delivers his sentiments from the impression of the moment; when these are ardent and generous, nothing further is to be wished, *than that he may have been well practiced and instructed beforehand in all the powers of language, as well as in all the external arts of eloquence.* Words of fire will then be supplied, and lightnings will flash as splendid as irresistible; and voice, and countenance, and gesture, will be such as expression, force, and gracefulness demand."—*Chironomia*, p. 443. Without the appropriate instruction, it would be as idle to expect the voice and the gesture to be free, expressive, and graceful, in such a case, as that "words of fire" would be supplied, without any previous knowledge of the powers of language.



his profound and wide-reaching knowledge of human nature. Only the first two of these can by any proper construction be considered as natural endowments; and how much of self-control he might have *acquired* by his habits of life up to the age of twenty-seven, it may not be entirely easy to determine. The third qualification, and that which had most agency in giving effect to his oratory, must have been *wholly acquired*. That much of his influence did actually depend on this, his eloquent and distinguished biographer everywhere admits. "Mr. Henry's book," says he, in one place, "was the great volume of human nature. In this, he was more deeply read than any of his countrymen. He knew *men* thoroughly; and hence arose his great power of persuasion."\* Even the first position, then, is not sustained.

As to the external graces of oratory, Henry never properly had them at command. "The eloquence of the uncultivated," says Dr. Potter, "is elicited by occasions and emergencies. It is not at command. The speaker does not master his powers, but is mastered by them. When wanted, they are not always at hand."† Such was precisely the eloquence of Henry. It is known that he never gave the slightest indications of his oratorical powers till the age of twenty-seven, when they were called out by an important occasion; that his speaking was always unequal, never worthy of his powers except when called out by some grand subject or pressing exigency; that in his exordium, he always appeared embarrassed, his action being awkward, and the tones of his voice sometimes "almost disagreeable." So far from contributing to the perfection of his oratory, these must always be pronounced defects. To these, he owes none of his fame; but such were some of his mental qualifications, that he became one of the most distinguished orators of the world, *in spite* of his defects. While, therefore, we have ever joined with our fellow-countrymen in admiring the powers of eloquence which Henry exhibited on numerous occasions, we have never failed to contrast him as he *was* with what he *might have been*.

We do not perceive, therefore, that Henry forms an exception to the principles we have advocated. We believe, that had he possessed the polish and gracefulness of action of his honored competitor, Richard Henry Lee, and had he possessed the full command of his vocal intonations, he would not only have been deemed worthy of being compared with Demosthenes, but from him would have been dated a *new era* in human eloquence.

\* Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry, p. 406. See also pp. 251-253.

† Introduction to Maury's *Principles of Eloquence*.

One of the most important practical inferences from all that we have said, is, though there are no mental endowments or acquirements which may not be made to contribute to perfection in oratory, yet that great strength of intellect, or any extraordinary power of language, is not indispensable to a very effective delivery. If we turn from the great field of secular eloquence to the pulpit, we are not aware that any one of the preachers who have produced the greatest effects by their oral eloquence has ever been specially distinguished for intellectual power. Bayle says :—"Friar Narni, a Capuchin, was so remarkable for his eloquence, that his hearers, after a sermon, cried out mercy in the streets as he passed home; and thirty bishops, starting up under a discourse, hurried home to their respective dioceses; yet, when his sermons came to be published, they were thought to be unworthy of his reputation; which shows," he adds, "how much depends on action, and how correct the saying of Demosthenes was on that subject."\* The same thing has been thought and said of the sermons of Whitefield; and some of the most effective pulpit orators of our country have published few or none of their sermons, nor left them for publication.

We write not for those whose habits have become fixed, but for *the young*. And laying aside all further consideration of the *voice*, as a matter of primary attention, we must refer a moment to the *action* suited to oratory. It should at all times be entirely free and graceful; and though it should generally be characterized by moderation, yet pulpit oratory, in particular, sometimes furnishes occasions for the exhibition of action in all its boldness and magnificence. Freedom and energy of gesture will contribute even to freedom of vocal expression; and these, whether employed singly or together, have a sort of magical influence on the *feelings* of him who uses them. He whose action or whose vocal expression is constrained, can scarcely be expected to *feel*: some, who know that they cannot give proper expression to their emotions, *dare* not feel. Action also improves the style. Who, that has little or no gesture, would ever think of preparing a sermon as though it were to be delivered with the enforcement which action would give it? What greater farce could be conceived, than the delivery of one of the sermons of Bridaine, unaccompanied by *action*, as well as the boldest elements of vocal expression?† It is not a trifling consideration, that action, on the part of the speaker,

\* Dictionary: Article, "Narni."

† For a specimen of Bridaine's style of eloquence, see Maury's *Principles of Eloquence*, sec. xviii.

also inspires in his hearers the idea of his earnestness and sincerity; thus bespeaking for his sentiments a favorable reception. Nor need the pulpit orator of well-disciplined sensibilities ever fear the charge of being "theatrical," so long as his gestures are characterized by propriety and grace, and he makes them only tributary to the expression of real feeling;—never substituting them for it, never permitting them to take the lead of it. Nothing but a genuine Christian sensibility can ever serve as a basis for effective pulpit oratory; and second in importance *only* to this, is the possession, on the part of the Christian minister, of power to give such sensibility an adequate and attractive expression.

A field of oratory is open to the preacher more comprehensive and more interesting than any in which the secular orator ever expatiated. What secular orator ever, year after year, had *such* subjects to discuss—embracing as they do all the highest interests of man? or *such* assemblies to address—each individual being personally interested in his appeal? or *such* a ground for pressing his appeals—the action required being *immediate* action? Or what one of all the orators of Greece or of Rome, or of all who have graced the parliaments, the legislative bodies, or the halls of justice of our world, has ever been authorized to declare himself the delegated expounder of the word and truth of God? The great Founder of the Christian system *spoke as never man spoke*; surely the preachers of Christianity should speak as other men have never spoken! Paul preached with authority when he made even the Roman governor tremble; but the preacher of our day has an advantage even over Paul. Millions, who hear the gospel now, need no instruction; they need only to be moved. Logic, which in many situations is the very basis and foundation of eloquence, would be lost on them; and mere rhetoric would but tickle the ear. The demand now is for the eloquence of feeling. This alone of human agencies can move their sensibilities—this alone can make them *act*. Yet the vast majority of preachers still neglect all the graces of oral eloquence, and leave them to those whose highest aim is merely to please, and who are actually but too often employed in seducing those who listen from the paths of virtue and truth. When true eloquence can be heard and *felt* by attending the church, men congregate there, not less than elsewhere; but because it is rarely to be found there, those who are not predisposed to religion prefer the theatre. It is our deliberate conviction, that when the

\* An eminent orator and statesman once said:—"No man can be eloquent in congress. Who can be eloquent," said he, "when a month may elapse before the question will be taken?"



learning, the genius, the manly judgment, and the finished taste, which now abound among the ministers of religion, shall be combined with a strong and effective *elocution*, truth shall enjoy a triumph throughout Christendom, which the world has never yet seen. We consider it a matter of gratulation, that this subject is claiming more of the public attention than heretofore. Within a few months, not less than *three* practical works on elocution have been presented to the American public. This, while it furnishes evidence of increased attention to the subject, also affords new facilities to the learner. The absence of these facilities has heretofore, doubtless, contributed largely to the present depressed state of pulpit eloquence among us.

To return to the works whose titles stand at the head of our article,—we would rejoice to see such a state of feeling as would authorize the publication of the *Chironomia* in America. It is altogether a manly and able discussion of a most important subject. Nor do we think the wants of the American scholar less demand an edition of Whately's *Rhetoric*, from which the last part, *on elocution*, should be expunged. Even this part contains some good things; but not enough, in our judgment, to redeem its defects and errors.

*Dickinson College, April 1st, 1845.*

---

ART. VI.—*Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil, embracing Historical and Geographical Notices of the Empire and its Several Provinces.* By DANIEL P. KIDDER. In two volumes, with illustrations. London: Wiley & Putnam. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball.

THE empire of Brazil, stretching over nearly two-thirds of the eastern coast of the South American continent, occupies an area variously estimated at from two to three millions of square miles. Possessing great natural advantages—a fertile soil, mines of precious metals and gems, an extensive sea-board, and at least two of the finest harbors in the world; and, above all, favored with a most genial and salubrious climate—it is destined to become one of the most important nations of the earth. Yet, until within the last fifteen years, its progress in commerce, in population, in the arts and in education, has been slow, and far from commensurate with its resources. Advantages which have impelled other countries

with rapid strides to eminence in all that constitutes national greatness and glory, have failed, until very recently, to give impetus and a corresponding importance and influence to Brazil. Though discovered and colonized at the very commencement of the sixteenth century, and early revealing the treasures hidden within its soil, the population even now probably little exceeds four millions; the printing-press has been established but a quarter of a century; and the country is, as yet, comparatively unknown beyond the immediate localities of its mines and its sea-board cities. This peculiar feature in the history of Brazil is, doubtless, owing mainly to the narrow policy of the Portuguese government, the restrictions imposed upon trade, the rigid exclusion of foreigners, the frequent changes of the local authorities—the governors-general and viceroys, each of whom exercised an absolute and often tyrannical sway—the alternate fluctuations of peace and war, and, more than all, the ignorance of the Portuguese, and their inferiority, in respect of science and the arts, to nearly every other European nation. As a necessary consequence, writers upon the history of Brazil have been few, and the sources of their information limited and unsatisfactory. It is remarkable that, until the appearance of these volumes, there has not issued from the American press a single work exclusively upon Brazil. Even in England there is none of recent date; nor is there one, the writer of which visited more than two or three of the eighteen provinces of the empire. The press thus failing to awaken public interest, the general importance of Brazil, either as an importing or exporting country, remained long unknown, save to comparatively few of the favored sons of commerce, who, compassing continents and sweeping oceans in search of new openings for enterprise, found there a profitable market. But beyond the pecuniary benefit, the profit and loss question, they of course had no thought or care, save that of keeping their discovery, as much as possible, to themselves. The declaration and recognition of the independence of Brazil, and the subsequent treaty with England in 1827, opened the eyes of the world to the subject, and Brazil is now rapidly acquiring that position among nations to which its importance entitles it; and which, if we have understood Mr. Kidder's volumes, the Brazilian character, where its better impulses are no longer kept in abeyance, is well able to sustain.

Mr. Kidder's work is most seasonable, and to him must be awarded the merit of giving to the world the first connected and reliable *history* of Brazil—his unassuming title-page to the contrary notwithstanding. The book is another proof, as palpable as any

yet furnished, of the world's indebtedness to missionary operations, and that in the most extended sense of the term. The world is under as deep an obligation to the *missionary* as is the church, and is as much interested in the success of the mission work. Not only is the herald of the cross the true philanthropist, casting the salt of a pure morality into the tainted waters of a universal depravity, and thereby promoting the general good, but he is the pioneer of civilization; he reopens new channels for commerce, by recovering men from barbarous and indecent usages, and teaching them the requirements, duties, and wants of civilized life. It is the missionary that travels into "the region beyond," whereunto avarice cannot impel, nor cupidity tempt, its votaries; and, laying his friendly hand upon the untutored savage, entices him from his rude customs, teaches him the use of implements of husbandry, and invites him to participate in the fruits of industry and the blessings of civilization. It is he who first marks upon the map of general knowledge the inhabited spots in the dark places of the earth—that penetrates the shadowy forests to awaken new aspirations in the savage breast, and then emerging from the gloom, beckons on the eager merchant and the child of science, and bids the one behold a new consumer for his merchandise, the other find a new field for his researches.

This common benefit of the missionary's labors—no less real because ungratefully forgotten, or but partially acknowledged—has been forced upon us by a perusal of these volumes. Mr. Kidder's visit to Brazil was primarily and supremely of a missionary character; and that character, as we have occasion to know, was uniformly and zealously sustained during his sojourn in that country. Indeed, had he been otherwise than "in labors more abundant," these volumes of "incidents and travels" had presented much less information. They are the records of his industry, the witnesses of his fidelity in the great work whereunto he was called, and in every good work; they show that he carried about with him the *habit of observation*. This may be inferred from the modest language of his preface, where our author says of himself, that

"his attention, while there, was primarily directed to the important subjects of morality, education, and religion, which, as a Christian missionary, it was his business to investigate fully. Having spent some time in each of the principal maritime cities and provinces, he necessarily became acquainted with the present state of things in Brazil, such as it has become since the repeated and extreme changes of government through which that country has passed within the last thirty years.



"This state of things he has endeavored to portray in his narrative, introducing at the same time those facts from the past history of Brazil which are instructive with reference to its present condition."—Pp. iii, iv.

And the result is a work which, we doubt not, will prove a *treasure* to the merchant, and will subserve the interests of literature and the cause of Christianity.

It will excite no surprise that *we* turn first to the religious condition of Brazil. The work supplies us with much valuable information on this subject. The author, with a judicious regard to the *general* acceptability of his book, has, however, scattered it through the volumes, so that the reader cannot turn over a score of pages at once on the plea that they are "all about religion." The arrangement is a happy one;—a very successful attempt at "circumventing" such readers as "care for none of these things"—an innocent manœuvre that displays a considerable knowledge of human nature, while it secures to perfection the author's object, the *diffusion* of religious information respecting Brazil among all classes, and in *connection* with its general history. The topic, however, is never allowed to stand long in the background: whether the reader is threading the streets of the crowded city, or musing in the sequestered glade, or sailing on the limpid stream, in every chapter it beams forth from the pleasant page, and always unobtrusively and in season.

But what is the religious condition of Brazil? We need scarcely say that the recognized religion is now, and from the beginning has been, Roman Catholicism—Popery uncontrolled by the influences with which, in Europe, it has had to contend since the Reformation. Our author says,—

"It was introduced contemporaneously with the first settlement of Brazil as a colony; and for three hundred years has been left to a perfectly free and untrammelled course. It has had the opportunity of exerting its very best influences on the minds of the people, and of arriving at its highest degree of perfection; and, in fact, it has been intimated by an educated Brazilian, who had traveled in Italy, that the religious ceremonies of Rio de Janeiro differ but little, in pomp and parade, from those of Rome herself."—Vol. i, p. 142.

Yet he expresses, with a candor which adds force to his delineations of the system, his

"firm conviction, that there is not a Roman Catholic country on the globe where there prevails a greater degree of toleration, or a greater liberality of feeling, toward Protestants."

And he adds,—

"I will here state, that in all my residence and travels in Brazil, in the character of a Protestant missionary, I never received the slightest opposition or indignity from the people. As might have been expected, a few of the priests made all the opposition they could, but the circumstance that these were unable to excite the people, showed how little influence they possessed. On the other hand, perhaps quite as many of the clergy, and those of the most respectable in the empire, manifested toward us and our work both favor and friendship."—Vol. i, p. 143.

The same inquiry will, doubtless, suggest itself to others that has occurred to ourselves:—How is this to be accounted for? or how is it to be reconciled with the universally intolerant spirit of Popery? The solution of this enigma is, we suspect, of a two-fold character. The circumstance that mainly contributes to this mild character of Brazilian Popery, is the very slender tie by which the pope retains this portion of his dominions—authority, in the premises, he can scarcely be said to possess. The proposition to make the Brazilian church independent of the Papal see has more than once been started, and as often found increased favor with the people. The effect of this, and perhaps the proximate cause of the state of feeling attributed to the Romish priesthood of Brazil by Mr. Kidder, is, that Popery has dwindled into a burlesque of all religion, and exhibits, in its dotage, only the shrunk and shriveled features of an imbecile infidelity;—collapse has followed repletion. Of this there is abundant and melancholy evidence in the volumes before us. There remains little in the system, or about it, that wears even the semblance of Christianity; but everything is diverse from the principles, spirit, and design of the gospel. Popery, at present, in Brazil, is, to all intents and purposes, nothing more and nothing less than a piece of foolery—a mere exhibition, kept up for pastime and gayety, and pretending to nothing else; one of the Protean forms of the "man of sin," showing how silly, how inane a thing Popery can become to meet the tastes of a people fond of display. Mr. Kidder shall furnish evidence of this. The following instance is one among many of the same nature. In 1595, a fleet, under the direction of some Lutherans, sailed from France with the intention of capturing Bahia. On their way they attacked Argoim, a small island on the coast of Africa, belonging to the Portuguese, and carried off, among other sacred things, an image of St. Anthony. At sea the fleet was attacked with storms, which sunk several of the vessels. Those that escaped this fate were assaulted with a pestilence, during which, through pure spite toward the Catholic religion, the image was thrown overboard, having been first hacked with cutlasses. The vessel that carried

it put into a port of Sergipe, and all on board were taken prisoners. These men were sent to Bahia, and the first object they saw on the praya was the very same image they had so maltreated. It had been cast up by the waters to confront them !

This image was procured by the priests, subsequently changed for a gaudier one which was christened by its name, and presumed to be the inheritor of its virtues. Having thus been introduced to the citizens of Bahia, St. Anthony was now enlisted as a soldier in the fortress near the barra bearing his name. In this capacity he received regular pay until he was promoted to the rank of captain by the governor, Rodrigo da Costa. In the official order for his promotion, the governor says:—

“Wherefore, and because we now more than ever need the favors of the aforementioned saint, both on account of the present wars in Portugal and of those which may yet happen in Bahia, the said chamber has besought me, in commemoration of the aforementioned vow, to assign to the said glorious St. Anthony the rank and pay of a captain in the fortress where he has hitherto only received the pay of a common soldier.

“In obedience to this request, and subject to the approval of the king, I therefore assign to the glorious St. Anthony the rank of captain in the said fortress, and order that the solicitor of the *Franciscan Convent* be authorized to draw, in his behalf, the regular amount of a captain's pay.

“RODRIGO DA COSTA.”

This saint has since received still higher promotion in Brazil. In 1835 he held, in Rio de Janeiro, the rank of colonel in the army, and received his pay as such, through the hands of his terrestrial delegates, the Franciscan monks.

Such announcements as the following are made very frequently in the public prints:—

“The president and board of the Brotherhood of the Most Holy Sacrament of the parish of Santa Rita design to celebrate a festival on the 22d of March, in honor of the Most Holy Virgin our Lady of Grief, who for the first time is located in the church. This *festa* is to be celebrated with high mass and a sermon, at the expense of the devotees of the said Virgin, the Most Holy Mother of Grief, who are all invited by the board to add to the *splendor* of the occasion by their presence; since they will receive from the above-named lady due reward.”

“The Brotherhood of the Most Holy Sacrament of the parish of St. John the Baptist, in Botafogo, design to celebrate their festival on the 12th of July with all possible pomp, by means of high mass, a sermon, procession, and Te Deum in the afternoon, and artificial fireworks at night. Wherefore, they invite all their brethren, and all their



fellow-parishioners and devotees to attend, and by their presence to render as brilliant as possible this act of our religion."—Vol. i, p. 145.

Speaking of the festivals in honor of the saints, our author says:—

"Sometimes, on the occasion of these festivals, a stage is erected in the church, or in the open air near by, and a species of dramatic representation is enacted for the amusement of the spectators. At other times an auction is held, at which a great variety of objects, that have been provided for the occasion by purchase or gift, are sold to the highest bidder. The auctioneer generally manages to keep the crowd around him in a roar of laughter, and, it is presumed, gets paid in proportion to the interest of his entertainment."—Vol. i, p. 146.

We doubt whether the following was ever exceeded by a political procession in New-York. It affords lamentable proof of the view we have taken of Brazilian Popery; it tells of the total absence of all hallowed associations, and plainly enough indicates that the Roman Catholic priesthood, and their levity-smitten followers, have no desire to

—"Bid the world of noise and show,  
With all its glittering *toys*, adieu."

"The first procession which I specially observed was that of Ash-Wednesday. It was conducted by the third order of Franciscans, from the chapel of the Misericordia, through the principal streets of the city, to the convent of St. Antonio. Not less than from twenty to thirty stands of images were borne along on the shoulders of men. Some of these images were single, others were in groups, intended to illustrate various events of Scriptural history or Catholic mythology. The dress and ornaments of these effigies were of the most gaudy kind. The platforms upon which they were placed were often quite heavy, requiring four, six, and eight men to carry them; nor could all these endure the burden for a long time. They required to be alternated by as many others, who walked by their side like extra pall-bearers at a funeral. The streets were thronged with thousands of people, among whom were numbers of slaves, who seemed highly amused to see their masters for once engaged in hard labor. They indeed toiled under their loads, till the sweat ran down their faces like water. The images passed in the middle of the street, with single files of men on either side, each one bearing a lighted torch or wax candle several feet in length. Before each group of images marched an angel (*anjo*), led by a priest, scattering rose-leaves and flowers upon the path.

"As the reader may be anxious to know what kind of angels take part in these spectacles, I must explain that they are a class created for the occasion, to act as tutelary to the saints exhibited. Little girls, from eight to ten years old, are generally chosen to serve in this capacity, for which they are fitted out by a most fantastic dress. Its leading design seems to be to exhibit a body and wings, wherefore the skirt and sleeves are expanded to enormous dimensions, by means of hoops and cane frame-work, over which flaunt silks, gauzes, ribbons, laces, tinsels, and plumes of diverse colors. On their head is placed a spe-

cies of tiara. Their hair hangs in ringlets down their faces and necks, and the triumphal air with which they march along, shows that they fully comprehend the honor they enjoy of being the principal objects of admiration.

"In strange contrast with the gayety of their appearance on this occasion, was the servility of another character quite essential to them, namely, the coarsely-dressed slave who walked near by with a basket or box on his head, from which, at every halt, flowers were transferred to the silver salvers, from which the angel might scatter them on the ground. . . . In fact, there seemed but little solemnity connected with the scene, and most of that was shared by the poor brethren who were tugging and sweating under the platforms; even they occasionally endeavored to enliven each other's spirits by entering into conversation and pleasantry, when relieved by their alternates.

"When the host is carried out on these occasions, but a small portion of the people are seen to kneel as it passes, and no compulsion is used when any are disinclined to manifest that degree of reverence.

"No class enter into the spirit of these holyday parades with more zeal than the people of color. They are, moreover, specially complimented from time to time, by the appearance of a colored saint, or of Nossa Senhora under an ebony skin. "*Lá vem o meu parente,*" "There comes my kindred," exclaimed an old negro standing near me, as a colored effigy, with woolly hair and thick lips, came in sight; and in the overflow of his joy, the old man had expressed the precise sentiment that is addressed by such appeals to the senses and feelings of the Africans."—Vol. i, pp. 148–150.

We might deepen the shades of this sad picture yet a hundred fold from Mr. Kidder's volumes, but our own inclination and the space at our disposal forbid it. The policy of Rome is "exceeding deep, who can find it out?" It will tyrannize where tyranny is safe, and cajole where it cannot tyrannize; the one awakens the freeman's indignation, the other his contempt, while he weeps in secret that thus they have perverted the way of the Lord. "Surely the people accustomed to these exhibitions as acts of religious commemoration, ought to prize the Bible, since a half hour's perusal of either of the Gospels would impart more correct information and more solemn impressions in relation to the death and sufferings of Christ, than could be gathered from all the protracted and expensive ceremonies of holy week, during all the years of a long life." And this leads us to a more agreeable feature in Mr. Kidder's "Sketches."

The circulation of the Bible in the vernacular language was a primary object of our author's mission to Brazil. Hitherto there had been no systematic effort for this object. Several hundreds of copies of the word of life had been sent out by the British and American Bible Societies, and their circulation had been confided

to resident merchants in the principal cities ; but these gentlemen had other occupations, or perhaps felt but little interest in the matter ; and though the sacred volume was not otherwise proscribed than in the usual regulations of the Romish Church, yet so far as the vulgar tongue was concerned, it was an effectually-excluded and unknown book. On their political disenthralment, the Brazilians adopted a liberal and tolerant constitution, and Mr. Kidder found no serious obstacles to the sale or gratuitous distribution of the Scriptures. Indeed, the people, sick at heart of the empty and senseless mockery of religion, and long unsatisfied with "that which was not bread," "received the word with gladness." They were prepared to hail with gratitude any movement which promised to supply them with that bread of life which had so long been systematically withheld.

"At the mission-house many copies were distributed gratuitously ; and on several occasions there was what might be called a rush of applicants for the sacred volume. One of these occurred soon after my arrival. It was known that a supply of books had been received, and our house was literally thronged with persons of all ages and conditions of life,—from the gray-headed man to the prattling child,—from the gentleman in high life to the poor slave. Most of the children and servants came as messengers, bringing notes from their parents or masters. These notes were invariably couched in respectful, and often in beseeching language. Several were from poor widows, who had no money to buy books for their children, but who desired Testaments for them to read at school. Another was from one of the ministers of the imperial government, asking for a supply for an entire school out of the city.

"Among the gentlemen who called in person, were several principals and proprietors of collegios, and many students of different grades. Versions in French, and also in English as well as Portuguese, were sometimes desired by amateur linguists. We dealt out the precious volumes, according to our best judgment, with joy and with trembling. This being the first general movement of the kind, we were at times inclined to fear that some plan had been concerted for getting the books destroyed, or for involving us in some species of difficulty. These apprehensions were contradicted, however, by all the circumstances within our observation ; and all who came, made their errand on the ground of its intrinsic importance, and listened with deep attention to whatever we had time or ability to address to them concerning Christ and the Bible.

"It was not to be presumed, however, that so great an amount of Scriptural truth could at once be scattered among the people, without exciting great jealousy and commotion among certain of the padres. Nevertheless, others of this class were among the applicants themselves. One aged priest, who called in person, and received by special request copies in Portuguese, French, and English, on retiring said,



'The like was never before done in this country.' Another sent a note in French, asking for *L'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament*. In three days two hundred copies were distributed and our stock was exhausted, but applicants continued to come, till it was estimated that four times that number had been called for. All we could respond to these persons was to inform them where Bibles were kept on sale, and that we anticipated a fresh supply at some future day."—Vol. i, pp. 138, 139.

Copies of several of the written applications referred to in the above extract are given in the Appendix. They exhibit a truthful earnestness of desire for the unadulterated Word, a lively gratitude for the hope of possessing it, and are couched in terms that must have greatly encouraged Mr. Kidder in his arduous duties. Nor less so, the following interview and conversation with an aged pilgrim at Maceio, in the province of Alagoas:—

"On my first visit to the shore, having become thirsty during a fatiguing walk over the beach, I desired the simple but very suitable beverage of a draft of fresh cocoa-nut water. I was directed to a snug little house near the sea-shore, which stood imbowered in a grove of thriving coqueiros. A man about fifty years old, a Portuguese by birth, received me at the door with due civility, and urged me to walk into the house and wait the arrival of a negro, who would be able to climb one of the trees and pluck the fruit. The domicil was neat and comfortable, and a table in the parlor exhibited two or three books. One of them I judged from its appearance to be a Portuguese Bible, of the British and Foreign Bible Society's publication. To find that book in such a situation was a circumstance as rare as it was interesting. I immediately directed attention to the volume.

" 'What book is that?'

" 'It is the Bible.'

" 'How long have you had it?'

" 'Eight or nine years,' was the reply.

" 'How did you become possessed of it?'

" 'It was given me by a sailor in Bahia.'

" 'It seems to have been used a great deal?'

" 'O yes, I am very fond of reading it, it is so instructive and consoling; but the mischief is, I cannot keep it at home. My neighbors love to read it too, and they are continually borrowing it from me. I have loaned it to go great distances, in almost every direction; but now it is at home, and I think I shall not let it go any more.'

" 'What, are there no other copies of it to be found?'

" 'I do not know of any, and most people that borrow it have never seen such a book before.'

" 'Well, I suppose you would have no objections to lend that copy, if you had another one perfectly clean and new?'

" 'Certainly not.'

" 'Then I will send one I have on board the steamer for your own use.'

" 'Will you?'







" 'Yes, cheerfully, and along with it a quantity of Testaments and tracts, which you shall be at liberty to distribute among those friends of yours, far and near, who have become fond of reading the old Bible.'

" 'O, I shall be extremely thankful! I will distribute them faithfully, and when you return down the coast I will show you a list of those persons to whom I shall have given them.'

" 'The reader may imagine that after such a conversation the fresh cocoa-nuts were opened with no ordinary satisfaction on both sides.'—Vol. ii, pp. 103–105.

It was not to be expected that a people who had so long "the substance in the shadow lost," should be easily or speedily rescued from their "vain imaginations." Indeed, Mr. Kidder's plan seems to have been to journey through the land and sow the precious seed in the willing soil, harrowing it by pious exhortations and much prayer; and the fruit will doubtless be "seen after many days." On his return from the tour of the provinces, he was about to establish, in conjunction with Mr. Spaulding, a Protestant ministry at Rio de Janeiro, that he might watch the upshootings of the imperishable seed that he had watered with his tears, and be prepared to put in the sickle when the "full corn in the ear" should be matured by heavenly dews and the influence of the Holy Spirit. Otherwise did Providence ordain; and in wisdom, inscrutable but unerring, suddenly removed from earth to heaven the "lover and friend" who had shared his missionary toil, and cheered him by her sympathy; and Mr. K. returned to his native land. He has said little of his success in "the work whereunto he was sent," but others have testified that his labor has not been in vain in the Lord.

But there are more general features in these interesting volumes which must not be passed over without notice. As a contribution to the literature of our age and country, the work is deserving of a cordial reception. It is a book that will live longer than its author. It is written with much care and judgment, and in excellent taste. The subjects treated of, *and their name is "legion,"* are evidently understood by the writer, and are given to the world for the sake of communicating information rather than for the pleasure of writing a book. We have already said that Mr. Kidder visited all the maritime cities and provinces. These "Sketches" are a continuous account of his tour; and following in the luminous track he has marked, we find ourselves lingering over historical associations, tracing clearly-defined geographical landmarks, taking mental measurement of distinguished men, listening to "incidents" pleasantly related, gazing upon the beautiful and sublime, the

grand and picturesque in nature, as they are spread before us in glowing but chaste description, and anon receiving episodal, way-side lessons in botany and other branches of natural science. A most pleasant companion is our author, and instructive too, as all will find who make acquaintance with his volumes. There is a fidelity about his descriptions, both of places and scenery, which familiarizes us at once with the spot he visits; and few are the scenes that are not made to pay some tribute to the reader's gratification. Take, as an instance, the following view of Olinda, as seen from the broad bay of Pernambuco:—

“Olinda, seen from this distance, must attract the attention and the admiration of every one. Of this city, set upon a hill, one is at a loss whether to admire most the whitened houses and massive temples, or the luxuriant foliage interspersed among them, and in which those edifices on the hill-side seem to be partially buried. From this point a line of highlands sweeps inward with a tolerably-regular arc, terminating at Cape St. Augustine, and forming a semilunar reconcave, analogous to that of Bahia. The entire summit of these highlands is crowned with green forests and foliage. Indeed, from the outermost range of vision to the very precincts of the city, throughout the extended plain, circumscribed by five-sixths of the imagined arc, scarcely an opening appears to the eye, although in fact the country overlooked is populous and cultivated. Numbers of buildings also, within the suburbs of the city, are overtowered and wholly or partially hid by lofty palms, mangueiras, cajueiros, and other trees. The interval between Recife and Olinda is in striking contrast to this appearance. It is a perfectly barren bank of sand, a narrow beach, upon one side of which the ocean breaks, while, on the other side, only a few rods distant and nearly parallel, runs a branch of the Beberibe River. This stream is navigable to boats as far as Olinda, and forms the principal channel of communication with that place, although the beach may be considered a species of turnpike.

“At a distance, varying from one-fourth to half a mile from the shore, runs the bank of rocks already mentioned as extending along the greater portion of the northern coast of Brazil. Its top is scarcely visible at high tide, being covered with the surf, which dashes over it in sheets of foam. At low water it is left dry, and stands like an artificial wall, with a surface sufficiently even to form a beautiful promenade in the very midst of the sea. This natural parapet is approached by the aid of boats. It is found to be from two to five rods in thickness. Its edges are a little worn and fractured, but both its sides are perpendicular to a great depth. The rock, in its external appearance, is of a dark brown color. When broken, it is found to be composed of a very hard species of sandstone of a yellow complexion, in which numerous bivalves are imbedded in a state of complete preservation. Various species of small sea-shells may be collected in the water-worn cavities of the surface. At several points deep winding fissures extend through a portion of the reef, but in general its appearance is quite

regular, much more so doubtless than any artificial wall could be after hundreds of years' exposure to the wearing of the ocean waves. The abrupt opening in this reef, by which an entrance is offered to vessels, is scarcely less remarkable than the protection which is secured to them when once behind this rocky bulwark."—Vol. ii, pp. 122, 123.

The following passages are from a description of the scenery on the island of Itamaracá:—

"Nothing could be at once more useful and ornamental than these magnificent palms. They are planted in regular lines, and grow to a nearly uniform height. Their trunks are slender and limbless, marked only by regular scars left in their growth, as one set of deciduous leaves falls off, yielding the precedence to another. Quite in their lofty top the fruit is clustered. The leaves, though simple and plume-like in form, are majestic in size. They stretch in various curves from the common centre of each tree-top, so as to unite their extremities, and form an umbrageous canopy so dense as to be scarcely penetrated by the rays of a vertical sun. These bowers are ever green, and whether illuminated by sun, moon, or star-light, they shed down, by varying reflections, a sombre brilliancy calculated to chasten the feelings and soothe the heart. Throughout all this vast arena the grass grows wild, and the turf is intersected by narrow, winding paths, exhibiting a white sandy bottom beneath. Here the mild air of the grove is freshened by an almost unceasing breeze from the sea, while he who enjoys it can look out upon a boundless expanse of the ocean, heaving its restless tide and breaking into foam over the coral reefs which girt the island. The strip of the shore, planted with coqueiros, varies from forty to one hundred rods in width. Beyond this, the prevailing tree is the *cajueiro* or cashew, which, together with the vine, the mangueira, and other trees, produces fruit in great abundance and perfection."—Vol. ii, pp. 167, 168.

In Mr. Kidder's relation of the various incidents which befell him, there is sometimes a vein of quiet humor that is exceedingly pleasant and refreshing:—

"It was nearly dark, and very foggy, when we were obliged to resume our route, without any certainty of meeting with a better reception further along. I was inclined to push forward to a Freguezia some miles ahead, where I had been told was an inn. But, as it soon became dark, my companion determined to apply at every dwelling until he should find some stopping place. After repeated refusals, he at length received an affirmative answer, and we reined up to a small domicil which appeared full of its own inmates. A woman, about forty years old, seemed to be principal of the domestic arrangements. She promised an excellent pasture for our horses, and sent to a neighbor, by the light of a fire-brand, to procure them corn. Her kindness did not stop short of offering us the very beds of the family, and she had no others, on which we might rest. A variety of considerations induced us to decline this, and other equally-obliging offers.



"On especial application, permission was granted us to occupy a small shed adjoining the house, and opening toward the road. A mat was provided, to spread between us and the ground, upon which, with portmanteau at the head and saddles at the feet, we became in due time extended. A wax taper had been stuck upon the side of the wall, to illuminate a portion of our darkness for a short time. After its expiration we had a protracted season for meditation; for between the noise of the people in the house and of a pack of puppies, which we in the morning ascertained to have been fellow-occupants of the same apartment with us, sleep sparingly visited our eyelids. Daylight at length appeared, and with it not a little alarm lest our horses were gone; for, on looking at a pasture where they had been turned through a pair of bars, we neither saw them nor any hedge, (*cerca*,) respecting which we had been assured there was an excellent one. Our apprehensions were at length quieted by finding the horses—learning, at the same time, that the word meaning hedge, was also used to signify a ditch!"—Vol. i, pp. 217, 218.

And now of those more general features of the book before us, that constitute its real and permanent value as an historical work upon Brazil.

The continent of South America was discovered A. D. 1500. In January of that year, Vincent Yanez Pinzon, a companion of Columbus, and the first Spaniard who crossed the equator, landed at Cape St. Augustine, and thence followed the coast northward as far as the mouth of the Orinoco. In April of the same year, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, commander of the second Portuguese fleet that doubled the Cape of Good Hope, discovered that portion of the Brazilian coast now called Espirito Santo. In 1530 the unexplored territory of Brazil was divided into captancies by the king of Portugal, and these were occupied by their several *donataries* in 1534-5; and in 1572 the government of the colony was divided between two captains-general, resident severally at St. Salvador and Rio de Janeiro. Four years later, the government was reduced to the *jurisprudence* of one captain-general, residing at Bahia. In 1580, Brazil, in connection with Portugal, came under the dominion of Spain, but was freed therefrom in 1640; and in 1661 the Dutch, who had invaded and taken possession of the whole coast, but had been defeated and expelled from Pernambuco, abandoned, by negotiation, all claim to the country. In 1693 regular mining for gold commenced, and in 1729 the diamond mines in Serro Frio were discovered. In 1815 Brazil was elevated to the rank of a kingdom, and in 1818 the crown was placed on the head of Don John VI., who, three years later, returned to Portugal, leaving his son, Don Pedro, regent. Don Pedro was twenty-three years of age when he assumed the regency, and his position was

embarrassing. He left Portugal at a very early age, and his highest ambition was connected with the land of his adoption. Suspicion that such a feeling existed on his part, or a petty jealousy of his position at Brazil, induced the cortes of Portugal to order his return to Europe; and the decree was accompanied by an ordinance abolishing the royal tribunals at Rio. Continued arbitrary decrees on the part of Portugal goaded the Brazilians into a declaration of independence. On the 12th of October, 1822, Don Pedro, yielding to frequent solicitation, consented to be proclaimed emperor and perpetual defender of Brazil. On the 1st of the following December he was crowned as Don Pedro I., and a session of the Assembly convoked to draft a constitution. The constitution framed by them was accepted by the emperor, and sworn to throughout the empire on the 24th of March, 1824. The recognition of Brazilian independence was formally made by Portugal on the 29th of August, 1825.

To the defective character of Don Pedro may be attributed whatever subsequently occurred to unsettle the new order of things in Brazil. Seldom, if indeed ever, was a throne ascended under more favorable auspices. The revolution was the full, ripe fruit of a universal dissatisfaction, planted in the hearts of a generous and confiding people by the arbitrary measures of the parent government; and it was effected without carnage or the horrors of a protracted war. With ordinary prudence on the part of Don Pedro I., his authority might have been firmly established. By a wise, liberal, and uniform policy, he might have concentrated the energies of his subjects on improving the resources of the country, and have placed Brazil at once in advantageous relationship with European nations and the republics of America; and he might thus have increased the wealth and the intelligence of his people. Yet scarcely had ten years passed before Don Pedro I. had forfeited the confidence of the people, who were certainly disposed to yield a hearty support to the new dynasty. Not that he was tyrannical, but that he was imprudent; he seems to have possessed firmness without principle, energy without perseverance—an admirer of the representative form of government, he yet hesitated in its practical enforcement. At the time of the revolution he joined in the feelings of nationality; but his subsequent employment of a foreign force, his continued interference in the affairs of Portugal, and his appointment of naturalized Portuguese to the highest offices of state to the exclusion of natives of the soil, awakened a universal suspicion that he was still a Portuguese at heart. Indications of dissatisfaction were manifested, and were

met by more offensive measures, until finally Don Pedro, after ineffectual efforts to suppress the rising spirit of rebellion in various parts of the empire, abdicated on the 7th of April, 1831, in favor of his son, Don Pedro de Alcantara, then only six years of age. A triple regency followed, which soon dwindled into individual usurpation of power. In 1834 important changes were made in the constitution of the empire; annual provincial assemblies were provided for in the place of the general council hitherto held; the regency was made to devolve upon a single individual, to be elected every four years; and on the 12th of October, 1835, Diogo Antonio Feijo, of San Paulo, was duly elected to that office. The question of the regency being now disposed of, the affairs of the country assumed a more settled aspect. Feijo's administration, however, proved unpopular, and he abdicated on the 17th of September, 1837, and the regency, by virtue of a provision in the constitution, devolved upon Pedro Araujo Lima, then minister of the empire. About this time our author's acquaintance with Brazil commenced.

The fourth chapter of the first volume opens with a pleasant description of Rio de Janeiro, where our author resided for some time after his arrival in Brazil. The description of the capital is continued through several succeeding chapters, and embraces full accounts of the monastic institutions and orders, public buildings, domestic customs, and other leading features of the capital, interspersed with several excellent drawings. Admitted thus into the very homestead of Brazilian life, we are prepared for many singular incidents subsequently detailed in the narrative. Our author's first expedition was in company with his colleague to the villages situated on the upper borders of the bay of Rio de Janeiro. They sailed up the Macacú River to the village of that name, and, returning, entered the Rio do Porto das Caixas. This latter river was so narrow and crooked, that oars were useless, and they had to employ setting poles. Porto das Caixas itself stands on a small eminence above the river, and is the general rendezvous for the troops of mules which bring coffee and sugars from the Swiss colonies of Novo Friburgo and Canto-Gallo, and a large section of the neighboring country. Here, also, are debarked the goods which return from the capital in exchange for produce. It is a thriving place, and, like Macacú, furnished our travelers with several incidents.

On the 15th of January, 1839, he embarked on board a steamboat for Santos, the principal port of the province of San Paulo, and distant from Rio, in direct course, about two hundred and twenty-five miles. Neither vessel, commander, nor crew, seems to



have been at all in advance of the age. On the morning after his arrival at the place of his destination, our author joined a party who were about to visit the interior. After waiting two hours for his traveling companions, and sundry mishaps in the preparations for the journey, they at length start on the highway to Cubatão. The company are thus described :—

“The first characters that engaged my attention were the two tropeiros, or conductors of the troop. They were not mounted, but preferred going on foot, in order to give proper attention to their animals and baggage. The latter being mostly of an inconvenient form, and not easily balanced, gave them great annoyance from its propensity to get loose and fall off. The principal was a very tall, athletic man, apparently about thirty years of age. His features were coarse in the extreme, and a hair-lip rendered his speech indistinct. His arms, feet, and legs to his knees were bare, and soon after starting, off came his shirt, exhibiting a tawny and properly yellow skin. His companion, and probably younger brother, was not so large, but appeared to have equal nerve. He was better dressed, and walked with his shoulders inclined forward. His jet black hair was long, and hung in ringlets upon his neck. His eyes were dark and flashing, and his countenance not dissimilar to that of a North American Indian. These persons were a specimen of the Paulista tropeiros, who, as a class, differ very much from the Mineiros and conductors that visit Rio de Janeiro. They have a certain wildness in their look, which, mingled with intelligence and sometimes benignity, gives to their countenance altogether a peculiar expression. They universally wear a large pointed knife, twisted into their girdle behind. This *faca de ponta* is perhaps more essential to them than the knife of the sailor is to him. It serves to cut wood, to mend harnesses, to kill and dress an animal, to carve food, and, in case of necessity, to defend or to assault. Its blade has a curve peculiar to itself, and, in order to be approved, must have a temper that will enable it to be struck through a thick piece of copper without bending or breaking. This, being a favorite companion, is often mounted with a silver handle, and sometimes encased in a silver sheath, although it is generally worn naked.

“As to the travelers, we represented at least six different nations of the old and new worlds, presenting no small variety, both in character and costume. Mons. G., physically the greatest man among us, was mounted upon the smallest mule ; and, not being accustomed to riding in this style, often consoled himself with the reflection that if he fell, neither the distance nor the danger would be great, as his feet almost touched the ground. This gentleman holds a distinguished place in the botanical department of the Museum of Natural History in Paris, and was at that time sent out by the French government on a special scientific mission to Brazil.

“Having not only had the pleasure of his company as *companion de voyage*, but also as a fellow-boarder for several weeks at S. Paulo, and in repeated excursions in the neighborhood of that city, I must be allowed to mention several of those qualities which rendered his society

agreeable. His sociability was only equaled by his cheerfulness of disposition. His fund of enlivening anecdote was almost inexhaustible, being drawn from a strangely-diversified personal history, and from extensive acquaintance with learned men. His conversation, always interesting, was pre-eminently so when inspired by his enthusiasm in botanical pursuits. Hence *les fleurs magnifiques* which adorned *notre belle route* imparted a double gratification.

"The individual next to be noticed was Doctor I., a Brazilian physician, educated in France; whose devotedness to the cause of science, equally with his noble and generous disposition, led him to make this entire journey for the sake of introducing Mons. G. at S. Paulo, and of making the sojourn of that gentleman in Brazil as pleasant as possible. Such attentions were the more desirable to Mons. G., as he was entirely unacquainted with the language and customs of the country, and they were amply realized in the spirited manner in which the doctor discharged his office as general manager to the party.

"Mons. B., a subject of the king of Sardinia, was a painter by profession. Senhor P., a young Fluminense, had spent several years in Paris, and was now going to take his course as a student at law in the University at S. Paulo. He, and a young Parisian associated with Mons. G., kept the road alive with their merriment, singing at the top of their voices. In addition to these might be mentioned Mynheer F., son to the secretary of the Rhenish Missionary Society at Elberfeldt; a third Brazilian, a third Frenchman, and a Portuguese. Respecting the only North American in the group, it is perhaps unnecessary to remark at present, unless that his paulista boots and other riding accoutrements must have assimilated his appearance to that of a genuine tropeiro—unprovided, of course, with either long knife or pistols."—Vol. i, pp. 207–209.

The party ascended, by a well-paved road, the Serra do Mar, or Ocean Cordillera. The ascent, however, was of a somewhat perilous character, as they met with many deep gulleys formed by slides of earth. Ere they reached its summit, they were overtaken by a dense fog and a heavy shower of rain, so that we lose the description of the immediate surrounding country. The travelers' accommodations during this journey, and even at the ancient city of San Paulo, appear not to have been of the most comfortable kind. The Jesuits figure largely in the early history of this city, and it is also distinguished as the birth-place of the Brazilian revolution of independence, as it was on the banks of the rivulet, Ypiranga, that Don Pedro first made the declaration, "Independencia ou morte." The city is situated on an elevated piece of ground, between two small streams. The suburbs and the vicinity are remarkably pleasant. Mr. Kidder was present at the religious festival of St. Paul, the tutelar guardian of the town and province, of which a most interesting account will be found on pages 232–235 of the first volume.

While at San Paulo, our author visited a large plantation, and appears to have seen with an observing eye the various processes through which the products of the country passed in their preparation for consumption. The most remarkable of these was the manufacture of mandioc flour. This vegetable (*Jatropha manihot*, L.) is the principal farinaceous product of Brazil. It is indigenous to the country, and has the peculiar property of combining a deadly poison with highly-nutritive qualities. It was known to the Indians long before the discovery of Brazil, who, with that intuitive perception peculiar to savage life—or rather with that wise provision of a beneficent Providence, which so largely supplies the lack of man's many inventions—had learned to separate "the evil from the good," and made important uses of this singular herb. For an interesting account of the mode in which the natives prepared the flour, and the improved method in use at the present day, we must refer the reader to the first volume of the "Sketches," while we follow the author in his instructive tour. The next place visited was the locality of the gold washing. We give the author's description of this process :—

"Our examination of the gold washing occurred early one morning, before the rays of the sun had acquired sufficient power to cause inconvenience. It was situated in the alluvial soil at the foot of the mountain. Very little of the precious metal is here found in combination with rocks; but, on the contrary, it exists in particles varying in size from the finest dust to the magnitude of a buckshot or pea. The soil is red or ferruginous, and the gold is sometimes found near the surface, but principally mingled with a stratum of gravel and rounded pebbles, like that in which diamonds are found, and like that, also, denominated *cascalhão*. The method of searching out the hidden treasure is very simple. The first requisite is a stream of water, of sufficiently high level to be brought by channels or pipes to the summit of an excavation. The earth is then cut into steps, each twenty or thirty feet wide, two or three broad, and about one deep. Near the bottom a trench is cut to the depth of two or three feet. On each step stand six or eight negroes, who, as the water flows gently from above, keep the earth continually in motion with shovels, until the whole is reduced to liquid mud, and washed below. The particles of gold contained in this earth descend to the trench, where, by reason of their specific gravity, they quickly precipitate. Workmen are continually employed at the trench to remove the stones, and clear away the surface, which operation is much assisted by the current of water which falls into it. After five days' washing, the precipitation in the trench is carried to some convenient stream to undergo a second clearance. For this purpose wooden bowls are provided, of a funnel shape, about two feet at the mouth, and five or six inches deep, called *gamellas*. Each workman, standing in the stream, takes into his bowl five or six pounds of the



sediment, which generally consists of heavy matter, such as granular oxide of iron, pyrites, ferruginous quartz, and often more precious stones. They admit certain quantities of water into the bowls, which they move about so dexterously, that the precious metal, separating from the inferior and lighter substances, settles to the bottom and sides of the vessel. They then rinse their bowls in a larger vessel of clean water, leaving the gold in that, and begin again.

"The washing of each bowlful occupies from five to eight or nine minutes. The gold produced is extremely variable in quality, and in the size of its particles. The operation is superintended by overseers, the result being important. When the whole is finished, the gold is placed upon a brass pan, over a slow fire, to be dried, and at a convenient time is taken to the permutation office, where it is weighed, and a fifth reserved for the government. The remainder is smelted with muriate of mercury, then cast into ingots, assayed, and stamped according to its intrinsic value.

"Bars of uncoined gold were formerly common in the circulating medium of Brazil. But at present specie of all kinds, except copper, is scarce, and seldom met with, except at exchange offices.

"Nothing was doing at these mines when I visited them. The aspect of the place was solitary but magnificent. The wide and deep excavations, the empty channels of the deserted water-courses, and the huge heaps of cascalhão, all stood silent yet speaking monuments of that *sacra auri fames*, which in every age and place has found a lodgment in the human breast. The very earth seemed to mourn the desolations inflicted upon its fair bosom, robbed of verdure as it was for ages, if not for ever—in thankless return for the rifled treasure.

"A few hours' search among the strata developed by the excavations, and among the rocks cast up as débris from the washings, rewarded us with as large a quantity of geological specimens as we were disposed to export. In the loose soil bordering upon the washings, we met with beautiful specimens of the black oxyd of manganese."—Vol. i, pp. 247-249.

After visiting other remarkable places in and about the city of San Paulo, among which was the Academy of Laws, a large and meritorious institution, established in a convent, where, amid numerous books on science and theology, there was not a single copy of the Bible—a deficiency which Mr. Kidder supplied—he proceeded into the interior. Passing over, though reluctantly, numerous "incidents of travel," narrated in a most pleasing style, we are introduced to the district of Itu, where there is a dense population, numerous schools and churches, and members of the "learned professions." In the town of Itu our author is domiciled in the house of a German physician, to whom he had letters of introduction. This gentleman was conversant with the German, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and Russian tongues; and his society was a pleasant interlude to the discomforts attend-

ant upon a stranger in a strange land. Strong as was the temptation, Mr. Kidder remitted not his journeyings and his labor; and we soon find him again advancing, scattering the "good seed of the kingdom," and gathering information for the benefit of his countrymen, who either as missionaries or traders may hereafter visit the Brazilian provinces. Indeed, he is fast becoming a positive utilitarian; nothing seems to escape his notice, and many details are scattered through his volumes of so thoroughly practical and domestic a character, and so generally passed by unheeded of the tourist,—but which greatly enhance the interest and value of his volumes,—that we are often surprised at the sources and extent of his information. Any man, with a tolerable capacity for accommodating himself to circumstances, might, with these volumes at his fingers' end, pass through the country as a Brazilian citizen, without much fear of naturalization laws.

We next pass over the southern boundaries of the province of San Paulo into the provinces of Santa Catharina and Rio Grande do Sul—the former as to territory the smallest in Brazil, comprehending the island from which it takes its name, and about two hundred miles along the coast. The climate is salubrious and temperate, as is also that of Rio Grande do Sul. The latter has great natural advantages, but has been so long involved in rebellion against the imperial government, that its prosperity is on the wane. We omitted to mention, by the way, that our author has given some admirable sketches—excellent specimens of condensed biography—of most of the leading personages of San Paulo, and especially of Feijo, the author of the celebrated "Demonstration of the Necessity of Abolishing Clerical Celibacy;"—for an able translation of which the Protestant world is already indebted to Mr. Kidder. While at San Paulo, he also visited the Hospital da Misericordia, the Hospital dos Lazaros, and the principal elementary schools. We may here mention, also, what ought to have been referred to in another place, as a triumph of Protestant labors, unequaled in any Roman Catholic country since the establishment of "his holiness" (?) upon the Papal throne, that acting under the advice and counsel of his Brazilian friends, Mr. Kidder submitted the following proposition to the provincial Assembly of San Paulo, with the success mentioned in the sequel:—

*" Proposition to the Honorable Legislature, the Provincial Assembly of the Imperial Province of San Paulo.*

"Whereas, having visited this province as a stranger, and having received high satisfaction, not only in the observation of those natural

advantages of climate, soil, and productions, with which a benignant Providence has so eminently distinguished it; but also in the generous hospitality and esteemed acquaintance of various citizens; and,

"Whereas, in making some inquiries upon the subject of education, having been repeatedly informed of a great want of reading books in the primary schools, especially in the interior; and,

"Whereas, having relations with the American Bible Society, located in New-York, the fundamental object of which is to distribute the word of God, without note or comment, in different parts of the world; and, whereas, the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is a choice specimen of style, as well on subjects historical as moral and religious, in addition to embodying the pure and sacred truths of our holy Christianity, the knowledge of which is of so high importance to every individual, both as a human being and as a member of society; and,

"Whereas, having the most unlimited confidence in the philanthropic benevolence of said society, and in its willingness to co-operate for the good of this country in common with all others, and especially in view of the happy relations existing between two prominent nations of the new world: therefore, I propose to guaranty on the part of the said American Bible Society the free donation of copies of the New Testament, translated into Portuguese by the Padre Antonio Pereira de Figueiredo, in sufficient number to furnish every primary school in the province with a library of one dozen; on the simple condition, that said copies shall be received as delivered at the Alfandega (Custom-house) of Rio de Janeiro, and caused to be distributed among, preserved in, and used by the said several schools, as books of general reading and instruction for the pupils of the same.

"With the most sincere desires for the moral and civil prosperity of the imperial province of San Paulo, the above proposition is humbly and respectfully submitted.

D. P. KIDDER.

"City of San Paulo, Feb. 15, 1839."

"The same day I received a verbal message, saying that the Assembly had received the proposition with peculiar satisfaction, and referred it to the two committees on ecclesiastical affairs and on public instruction. The following official communication was subsequently received.

[TRANSLATION.]

"To MR. KIDDER,—I inform you that the Legislative Assembly has received with especial satisfaction your offer of copies of the New Testament, translated by the Padre Antonio Pereira de Figueiredo, and that the Legislature will enter into a deliberation upon the subject, the result of which will be communicated to you.

"God preserve you!

"MIGUEL EUFRAZIO DE AZEVEDO MARQUEZ, Sec.

"Palace of the Provincial Assembly, }  
S. Paulo, Feb., 1839." }



..... "The last direct intelligence I had upon the subject, was received in conversation with the president of the Assembly. I met this gentleman on his subsequent arrival at Rio de Janeiro to discharge his duties as a member of the House of Deputies. He informed me that such were the political animosities existing between the two parties into which the Assembly was divided, that very little business of any kind had been done during the session. The minority as a party, and individuals of the majority, favored the project, but, under the circumstances, did not wish to urge immediate action upon it. Meantime, through some slanders circulated by an English Catholic priest residing at Rio, the suspicions of the old bishop were excited lest the translation was not actually what it purported to be, but had suffered alterations.

"An examination was proposed, but either through inability or willful neglect was not attempted; and thus the superstitious humor of the old diocesan was counted among other things which caused delay. The president expressed a hope that on the next organization of the Assembly the proposal would be fully accepted.

"I subsequently saw in a newspaper, that the committee to whom the subject had been referred, or probably its chairman, in direct contravention of his voluntary promise to me, but in obedience to the old bishop's idle fears, had filed in the secretary's office a report unfavorable to the proposal. The proposition was probably never acted upon. To the credit of the province, it certainly was never formally rejected."—Vol. i, pp. 323, 324, 326, 327.

In the province of Rio Grande do Sul is the celebrated iron foundry of Ypanema; the only establishment of the kind in the empire. It is situated in a beautiful valley at the foot of the mountain of Guarassajava. This mountain contains vast quantities of magnetic iron ore. Our author visited this establishment, and amply describes it in his pages.

Our author now proceeded to visit the northern portions of the empire, embarking from Rio in the month of July on board the steam-boat St. Sebastian. Prior to the year 1839 there had not existed any means of regular or rapid communication between the capital and the extreme portions of the empire, particularly the far north. But about this time the Brazilian Steam-packet Company, under the patronage of the imperial government, had established a line of packets, of which the St. Sebastian was one, intended to convey mails and passengers, freight, and, in case of need, munitions of war, between the different ports along the coast, and in fact to establish a bond of connection between Rio de Janeiro and the river Amazon. Mr. Kidder's first destination was Bahia. He passed along the coast of the Espirito Santo, a province which, though early discovered and settled by the first donataries, is described as being yet but thinly inhabited, and lacking the improvements found in

most other parts. Yet its soil is fertile and its waters abound with valuable fish. Bahia and Pernambuco are the cities best known to the commercial world; of the former city, distant from Rio de Janeiro about eight hundred miles, we have in these volumes a graphic description, and an historical sketch from the time of its foundation to the present, which is perhaps as favorable a specimen of the author's perspicuous narration of historical facts as any in the work. It will be found in the second volume, pp. 28-56. Mr. Kidder describes Bahia as a beautiful city, having highly-ornamental suburbs and picturesque scenery. This refers more particularly, if not exclusively, to the upper town—the lower being deficient in neatness, cleanliness, and architectural beauty. Bahia is the seat of the only archbishopric in the empire. The salary of the archbishop is equal to about fifteen hundred dollars. The monastic orders and establishments are numerous. The commerce of Bahia has waned for several years past. The following observations on this subject may not be palatable to our transatlantic brethren, but they are the language of candor and truth. Speaking on this subject, the "trade" of Bahia, Mr. Kidder says:—

"It has never recovered its former vigor since the revolution of 1837. One cause has been the renewed activity of the English cruisers, which began to be manifested in 1838, and has since continued to oppose a formidable obstacle to the slave trade on the African coast, in which Bahia has from early days been deeply interested. The effects of this activity are by no means confined to the number of prizes taken, but are still more obvious in preventing the embarkation of slaves than in capturing them when afloat. It has not been generally known that notwithstanding the opposition of the English nation to the slave trade, and her vigorous efforts to suppress it, yet that the strong bulwark of that traffic *has been the English capital, by aid of which it has been carried on*. Such is the fact. Few slave vessels were fitted out without large credits from English houses based on the anticipated sale of their return cargo. It was not principle that cut off these credits, but the repeated losses of the slave dealers, which left them nothing to pay. Thus English philanthropy and English cupidity came in contact with each other, and it is a happy circumstance that the former, to a great extent, triumphed. Yet the derangement of so vast a business as the slave traffic had become has been severely felt in the commercial affairs of Bahia, not only on account of the number of persons engaged in it, but also on account of the market it had hitherto furnished for two principal products of the province—rum and tobacco."—Vol. ii, pp. 86, 87.

Leaving Bahia, and proceeding northward, our author landed at Maceio, in the province of Alagoas, near the locality of the famous republic of the Palmares. He next touched at Pernambuco, where

he had letters of introduction to several citizens and to an ex-president of the province, late one of the ministers of the empire, and at present baron of Suasuna. This gentleman Mr. Kidder visited at his country-seat, about four leagues distant from Pernambuco.

Here we have another valuable historical epitome of the events transpiring within the province and city up to the time of our author's visit, followed by an equally-interesting description of the customs and employments of the people, the public institutions, and the religious and commercial condition of the city, and its sister city Olinda. Pernambuco seems to have been, until a very late period, the scene of frequent rebellions and disturbances. Notwithstanding this, it has remained tolerably prosperous. Its situation is inviting, and its scenery picturesque. The state of religion is very much like that in other portions of the empire. Not long before Mr. Kidder visited the province a melancholy proof of religious fanaticism occurred. There prevails in Portugal, and to some extent in Brazil, a sect called Sebastianists. Their belief is that Don Sebastian, the king of Portugal, who in 1577 undertook an expedition against the Moors in Africa, and who, having been defeated, never returned, is still alive, and is destined yet to make his reappearance on earth. The Portuguese look for his appearance at Lisbon; but the Brazilians generally think it most likely that he will first revisit his own city, St. Sebastian. The sequel shall be told in the author's own language:—

“It appears, however, that a reckless villain, named João Antonio, fixed upon a remote part of the province of Pernambuco, near Piancó, in the Comarca de Flores, for the appearance of the said D. Sebastian. The place designated was a dense forest, near which were known to be two acroceraunian caverns. This spot the impostor said was an enchanted kingdom, which was about to be disenchanted, whereupon Don Sebastian would immediately appear at the head of a great army, with glory and with power, to confer wealth and happiness upon all who should anticipate his coming by associating themselves with said João Antonio.

“As might be expected, he found followers, who, after awhile, learned that the imaginary kingdom was to be disenchanted by having its soil sprinkled with the blood of one hundred innocent children! In default of a sufficient number of children, men and women were to be immolated, but in a few days they would all rise again, and become possessed of the riches of the world. The prophet appears to have lacked the courage necessary to carry out his bloody scheme, but he delegated power to an accomplice, named João Ferreira, who assumed the title of ‘his Holiness,’ put a wreath of rushes upon his head, and required the proselytes to kiss his toe, on pain of instant death. After other deeds too horrible to describe, he commenced the slaughter of human



beings. Each parent was required to bring forward one or two of his children to be offered. In vain did the prattling babes shriek and beg that they might not be murdered. The unnatural parents would reply, 'No, my child, there is no remedy,' and forcibly offer them. In the course of two days he had thus in cold blood slain twenty-one adults and twenty children, when a brother of the prophet, becoming jealous of 'his Holiness,' thrust him through, and assumed his power. At this juncture some one ran away, and apprised the civil authorities of the dreadful tragedy.

"Troops were called out who hastened to the spot, but the infatuated Sebastianists had been taught not to fear anything, but that should an attack be made upon them it would be the signal for the restoration of the kingdom, the resurrection of their dead, and the destruction of their enemies. Wherefore on seeing the troops approach they rushed upon them, uttering cries of defiance, attacking those who had come to their rescue, and actually killing five, and wounding others, before they could be restrained. Nor did they submit until twenty-nine of their number, including three women, had actually been killed. Women, seeing their husbands dying at their feet, would not attempt to escape, but shouted, 'The time is come; viva, viva, the time is come!' Of those that survived, a few escaped into the woods, the rest were taken prisoners. It was found that the victims of this horrid delusion had not even buried the bodies of their murdered offspring and kinsmen, so confident were they of their immediate restoration."—Vol. ii, pp. 149, 150.

But we must forbear. We have not room to follow the author in his visits to the remaining provinces, and with unfeigned reluctance we leave full one-third of these remarkably-interesting volumes unexplored. Numerous passages, which we had marked for quotation, must be sought for by the reader in the work itself; and if he read it with but half the pleasure and advantage that we have derived from the perusal, he will find himself more than abundantly repaid for the outlay of time and money. Toward the close of the second volume is a masterly sketch of the political history of Brazil, which especially will repay a careful reading; and we will substitute, in the stead of many things that we wished to say about these "Sketches and Incidents," a few passages from that portion of the work:—

"The favorable position, and the vast extent of the Brazilian empire, must always secure for it a prominent place in the eyes of the world. Indeed, few nations can enter into comparison with it in either of these respects. Brazil stands out upon the eastern shore of South America as the great way-mark of the Southern Atlantic. It commands equal access to Europe and the United States. Africa and the West Indies are its neighbors; while the voyage from its principal ports to Southern Asia and the islands of the Indian Ocean is shorter by ten or twelve thousand miles than from either Liverpool or New-York. At the same







time, Brazil embraces nearly half of all South America, covering an area considerably greater than that of the United States with their territories, and equal to six-sevenths of all Europe.

"The internal resources of the empire are commensurate with its favored position and its wide extent. It is neither the gold of its mines, nor the diamonds that sparkle in the beds of its inland rivers, that constitute the greatest sources of its available wealth. Although nature has bestowed upon Brazil the most precious minerals, yet she has been still more prodigal in the gift of vegetable riches. Embracing the whole latitude of the southern torrid, and ten degrees of the southern temperate zone, and stretching its longitude from Cape St. Augustine, the easternmost point of the continent, across the mountains of its own interior to the very feet of the Andes, its soil and its climate offer an asylum to almost every valuable plant. In addition to numberless varieties of indigenous growth, there is scarcely a production of either India which might not be naturalized in great perfection under or near the equator; while its interior uplands, and its soil in the far south, welcome many of the grains and hardier vegetables of Europe.

"Not only does Brazil embrace whatever is beautiful, whatever is luxuriant, and whatever is magnificent in nature, but it enjoys a pleasant and a salubrious climate. There prevails, throughout its whole extent, a degree of healthfulness unknown in the parallel latitudes of Africa; and, at the same time, an exemption from earthquakes, which the treasures of Chili and Peru, on the opposite coast of South America, can but poorly compensate. Within such limits, and occupying such a position, we find established the only monarchy existing in the new world."—Vol. ii, pp. 386, 387.

Before we lay down these volumes, we must say a word or two about a portion of the book which, in ordinary cases, does not merit separate notice. We allude to the Appendix. There is more historical and statistical information contained in it than in many a ponderous tome. We give but an index to its contents. Mr. Kidder first corrects some important errors on the subject of Brazil in M'Culloch's *Universal Gazetteer*; and then we have a chronological summary of the principal events that have transpired in the history of Brazil, from the discovery of the country to the present time—a list of all the churches in the city of Rio de Janeiro—correspondence on the object of the author's mission—the offices of the saints, according to popular superstitions in Brazil—monasticism, showing the present uses of all the buildings erected by the Jesuits and other monastic orders—a botanical table, exhibiting the scientific and common names of all the remarkable plants indigenous to Brazil, with their medical qualities and common uses—population of each of the provinces—exports and imports of the empire and of the capital—official documents relating to commerce between Brazil and the United States—finance of the empire, in-

cluding revenues and expenditures in the various departments—diplomacy—army and navy—marriage of the Prince de Joinville to her Imperial Highness Donna Francisca, sister of the emperor—succession of ministers since the abdication of Don Pedro I.—members of the council of state—nobility of the empire, and various corrections of Captain Wilkes's Narrative of the Exploring Expedition. It only remains for us to say that the numerous illustrations, &c., are worthy specimens of art, and that the mechanical part of the work does great credit to the respectable publishers. Altogether, the book is one of those "books that are books," and has our cordial commendation.

---

ART. VII.—*Brownson's Quarterly Review*. No. V. January, 1845. Boston.

WE have a strong desire to be at peace with our brother reviewers; and so far, with very slight exceptions, have succeeded in this object: but it can scarcely be expected, in these days, that reviewers of different schools, who never truckle, should never come into collision. Great topics are discussed with freedom; the public mind is in a state of activity, and often becomes highly excited. Under such circumstances, it would be strange if reviewers should be either noncommittal or always perfectly cool, cautious, and pacific. Protestant, of the evangelical school, as we are, we can but regard Romanism as a grand corruption of Christianity; and, in view of its internal policy and past history, we are equally convinced that it is a dangerous element in the civil compact. The direct interference of Romanists, as such, with our political and educational interests, has fixed a suspicion in our mind that the agents of this great politico-ecclesiastical institution are playing their old game in this country, and that their changeless policy is a fair subject of criticism and investigation. The pretensions of Romanism, the hopes of its friends, and the fears of its enemies, are in themselves good and sufficient reasons why the people of these United States should thoroughly study and well understand its character and workings. It has been for the purpose of reflecting light upon the subject, and not from any ill will to Romanists, that we have given a portion of our space to the controversy pending between them and the Protestant churches of Christendom. We have no quarrel with them as men or as foreigners. We object to their theology, their ecclesiastical polity,

their literary policy, and, we might add, their politics. We use the word *politics* in this connection, not in its ordinary acceptation, but for *the policy of the Jesuits*—the grand object of which is to *subject the state to the church*—a policy which we hope may never meet with favor in this country.

With these views of Romanism, we have exercised our rights as an American reviewer—who ever ought to scorn the idea of truckling to a vaunting foe, or of turning aside from the path of duty for fear of unpleasant consequences—and have taken some notice of the dangerous and injurious policy of the Church of Rome. For our temerity we are likely to smart severely. O. A. Brownson, with whom, on a former occasion, we had a small brush, having recently become a convert to Romanism, and no doubt seeing it necessary to make a strong demonstration of his zeal for his new faith, has taken us in hand. Mr. Brownson, the editor of the Boston Quarterly Review, which closed up in 1842, and the author of several books, now conducts a review which bears his own name, and is devoted almost entirely to a defense of Romanism, and attacks upon the Protestant faith. Mr. Brownson's conversion is to be chronicled in the history of Romanism as an event of more or less importance, according to the term of his adhesion to the cause he has espoused. It is certain that the Romish editors in this country think him a great acquisition. We would make no allusion to his character for the purpose of detracting from the force of his arguments: but that our readers may know how much real importance is to be attached to his conversion, it may be proper just to sketch the leading phases which his theological views have assumed within a few years past. We do this partly from personal knowledge, partly from authentic information from his acquaintances, but mostly from his own publications.

In the first place, we have the pleasure to say, that Mr. Brownson is not, as far as we know, a personal enemy. He has said some very kind things of us, and we have no unkind feelings toward him. Indeed, there are elements in his character that we like. He is a hard student—a considerable thinker—is bold—confident—open-hearted, and, we have ever supposed, honest in his opinions. We consequently have no feelings toward him which would lead us to treat him with undue severity or personal disrespect. We believe it has been his misfortune, or his fault—we assume not to say which—since he came into public notice, to be fundamentally wrong in some things; and, according to all present appearances, not likely very soon to reform his errors. Mr. Brownson was, as he tells us, “brought up with the Methodists;” but how much of a



Methodist he was, we cannot precisely say; we think he once told us that he "belonged to the class," but in this our recollection may not be perfect. He was afterward successively a Presbyterian, a Universalist, an Atheist, a Unitarian Transcendentalist, a Pantheist, and the last time we heard from him he was a Romanist. In a penitential notice of himself in his last number, he tells us that he had been "everything by starts, and nothing long." Of his changes as a politician and as a philosopher we say nothing.

As might be expected, Mr. Brownson now takes high ground, and mouths the dogmas of Popery with all the confidence of a *father*. He has always been entirely confident that he was right, and accustomed to publish his vagaries with the authority of an oracle. His "New Views of Christianity, Society, and the Church," he told us in 1842, had with him "the authority due to veritable inspiration;"\* and yet that book he now renounces and condemns. You may find in his former heterogeneous publications the wildest vagaries launched in a prophetic and ex-cathedra character that is scarcely equaled by Joe Smith himself. As a specimen, see his "Church of the Future," in the Boston Review, vol. v. It might reasonably have been expected that Mr. B.'s numerous blunders would at least have taught him a little modesty; but no—this would not be Mr. B. He would scarcely act in character, if he could not rush from pole to pole in the twinkling of an eye—if Mr. B. of to-day could not be the antipodes of Mr. B. of yesterday, and yet be as confident to-day that he is right—certainly, infallibly right—as he was yesterday. It must be left for others rightly to estimate his opinions and various changes, for he is wholly incapable of doing this himself. The public generally will suppose that it is, indeed, no great affair for Mr. B. to turn a somerset; and that as he now acknowledges he was wholly wrong, even when he thought himself under the influence of a divine afflatus, time may bring forth another change and another recantation.

Now, we do not say that Mr. B. has not been honest in all his changes, turnings, and shiftings; nor do we find fault with him for them. It seems a characteristic of his mind to change. We do not blame a weathercock for changing with the wind. Poor thing! it cannot make the wind blow always from the same point; and if, when the wind changes, it should remain stationary, it would violate a fundamental principle of its constitution. An unbalanced mind, however active or strong, will not act uniformly.

\* See Boston Review, vol. v, p. 4.

It has laws, to be sure ; but they are often beyond the penetration of the most far-seeing observer. Like the comet, it moves in an eccentric orbit ; but it is still more difficult to trace its track, or to foretell the periods of its return from its devious wanderings. We may learn from this class of minds many useful lessons ; but we must not select them as guides, or follow their examples ; for we are told not to " meddle with those who are given to change." But we must now hasten to our principal business.

Mr. B. opens his January number with a spirited reply to an article in the Methodist Quarterly Review of July last, upon " The Literary Policy of the Church of Rome." In this article his general course is to *deny* and *assert*, after the manner of a true disciple of Loyola. Some effort he does make to prove, but his evidence is either without authority, or wholly inapplicable, and his reasoning altogether inconclusive. He stoutly contends that the Methodist Quarterly gives no proof of its main positions, and that the Church of Rome has ever been the chief, if not, indeed, the only patron of the press, of literature, and of science.

The proposition which the reviewer attempts to sustain, and which Mr. B. quotes and makes the basis of his article, is as follows :—

" It is proposed in this paper," says the *Review*, " to exhibit the proof that the Church of Rome has ever waged a deadly warfare upon the liberty of the press, and upon literature, and that her expurgatory and prohibitory policy is perpetuated to the present hour, not only against the truth of revelation, but equally against the truth in nature and in science, both learning and religion having been the doomed victims of her perennial despotism."—P. 1.

Analyzing this passage, he makes it to contain

" four distinct charges against the Church of Rome, namely: 1. Hostility to the liberty of the press; 2. Hostility to literature; 3. Hostility to science; 4. Hostility to revelation and religion."—P. 2.

" The first three of these charges " he attempts to meet, and the third he reserves for future consideration. Thus he sets off:—

" The first three of these charges, even if well founded, are urged with an ill grace by a Methodist. If we have been rightly informed, the Methodist press is itself under the strict surveillance of the bishops and elders, and the Methodist people have, we believe, great scruples about purchasing books, even of their own denomination, when not published by their own book society, which monopolizes the principal part of their publishing business. We even remember the time when the Methodist ministers were proverbial for their ignorance, and dis-

tinguished by their contempt for human science and learning. A better feeling is now, we are happy to admit, beginning to obtain among them, and the denomination has succeeded in establishing a few very respectable schools of its own ; but we have not yet heard of a Methodist in this country of any remarkable literary attainments, and we are quite sure that no Methodist, clergyman or layman, has as yet made any valuable or permanent contribution either to literature or science. It betrays, then, a great want of modesty, on the part of a Methodist editor, to bring charges of hostility either to literature or science against any portion of the community, however true, in itself, such a charge might be."— P. 2.

This is, in all respects, a curious passage. And though Mr. B. "was in a good measure brought up with the Methodists," the most charitable construction we can put upon a portion of his language is, that he knows very little of their institutions : for we will not yet conclude that he deals in willful slander. Let us look at the several items of this extraordinary paragraph.

Mr. B. says : "If we have been rightly informed, the Methodist press is itself under the strict surveillance of the bishops and elders, and the Methodist people have, we believe, great scruples about purchasing books, even of their own denomination, when not published by their own book society, which monopolizes the principal part of their publishing business." In all this it turns out that Mr. B. has not "been rightly informed." First, "the Methodist press" is so far from being "under a strict surveillance of the bishops and elders," that "the bishops and elders" have no power over it whatever. The editors and agents, aided by the *advice* of a committee, when they judge it necessary to ask it, appointed by three different conferences, conduct "the Methodist press" according to their own views of the wants and interests of the church, perfectly untrammelled by specific instructions. "The bishops" have no more to do with our "press" than the humblest member in the church. The editors are held accountable for their moral conduct, as they should be, to the conferences of which they are members, and for their official fidelity are accountable, in the intervals of the General Conference, to the book committee, who have power, after due forms of trial and conviction, to displace them for mal-practice. This wise and necessary responsibility is the sum total of the "strict surveillance" exercised over them.

As to the "scruples" of our people in relation to "purchasing books" not published at our Concern, Mr. B. is wholly in error. The profits of our publications are applied to the worthy purpose of supporting our superannuated preachers, and the widows and orphans of such as have died in the itinerant field. For this



reason, as well as on account of the inherent excellences of our publications, we urge our people to patronize our publishing establishment, and the better feelings of their nature prompt most of them to do so. But they are required to do so by no law of the church. And that we give a favorable notice of books published at other establishments in all our official periodicals, Mr. B. might know. The fact is, that our people supply themselves with an undue proportion of reading from other presses. But what Methodist ever had his library examined and his books wrested from him by an *inquisitor*? What Methodist preacher ever undertook the business of heresy hunting and book burning? Mr. B.'s "book society" is a creature of his own imagination. There is no such thing in being among the Methodists.

Again: we are accused of "a great want of modesty" for bringing the charges of hostility to literature and science against Romanists, for the reason that Mr. B. "has not yet heard of a Methodist in this country of any remarkable literary attainments," &c. This is, indeed, a most extraordinary position. Must the Protestant churches of this country produce men of "remarkable literary attainments," and make "valuable or permanent contributions to literature or science," before they have a right to advise the public of the inquisitorial and proscriptive policy of the Church of Rome? Truly this is a novel notion, and one every way worthy of its author. We have hitherto supposed that the humblest member of the humblest sect in the country has a perfect right to call public attention to the tendency of the views and measures of any sect or class, however high in their pretensions, and shall most certainly continue to act upon such a supposition, notwithstanding it may expose us to Mr. B.'s most *modest* charge of a "want of modesty."

Mr. B.'s insinuation that the Methodists have produced no literary men, and have made no contributions to the literature and science of the country, is unworthy of a serious reply. It is both false and disingenuous, and is setting up a test of a right to speak which the Church of Rome in this country is as illy prepared to abide as the Methodists. But we shall not descend to a comparison of our distinguished men with those of the Romish Church; but will, however, just hint to our extremely *modest* antagonist that we have a living author who has produced a work which has been republished in England, and has been pronounced by some of the best scholars of the age one of the most learned and conclusive productions in the language. And as this work will be a good bone for such ripe scholars as O. A. Brownson to pick, and

as we suppose he has "not yet heard" of it, we give its title-page\* below for his information.

Mr. B. first undertakes to defend the Church of Rome against the charge of hostility to the liberty of the press. And, first, he denies that the reviewer has adduced "a single fact" to prove his allegation touching this point. The reader will do well to recur to the article, and examine for himself. But lest he may not have our July number at hand, we will give a few short passages from the article, from which he will be able to determine how far they go toward sustaining the charge alledged. After having referred to several facts pertinent to the point, the reviewer proceeds:—

"But we have still later testimony in point in the encyclical letter of Pope Gregory XVI., the present reigning pontiff, addressed to all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, and bearing date at the Papal see in Rome, August 16th, 1832. It is promulgated in Latin; but with the original before the reader, the following translation of extracts will be found strictly accurate:—

"*'Liberty of conscience* is an absurd and erroneous opinion, or rather mad conceit, and the prevalence of this most pestilent error is owing to that *liberty of opinion* which is spreading far and wide, to the ruin of both church and state; and both these should combine against that trinity of evils, an ungoverned freedom of opinion, public harangues, and a desire of innovation.' Again he fulminates his anathemas against 'that most vile, detestable, and *never-to-be-sufficiently-execrated* liberty of booksellers, who publish writings of whatsoever kind they please, a liberty which some persons dare with such violence of language to demand and promote.' Again:—

"'We are horrified, venerable brethren, when we behold the monstrous doctrines, or rather the portentous errors with which we are overwhelmed, which are disseminated far and wide on every side by the vast multitude of books, and pamphlets, and tracts, small indeed in bulk, but large in mischievous intent.'

"After rebuking the folly of those who hope to vindicate the church from the wounds she is receiving from the unbridled liberty of the press, by publishing some book or other in her defense, his holiness proceeds,—

"'Far different was the discipline of the church in extirpating the infection of bad books even in the days of the apostles, who, we read, publicly burned a vast quantity of books.' And after eulogizing the

---

\* "A Delineation of Roman Catholicism, drawn from the Authentic and Acknowledged Standards of the Church of Rome, viz: her Creeds, Catechisms, Decisions of Councils, Papal Bulls, Roman Catholic Writers, the Records of History, &c., &c. In which the Peculiar Doctrines, Morals, Government, and Usages of the Church of Rome are stated, treated at large, and confuted. By Charles Elliott, D.D. 2 Vols. 8vo. New-York: Lane and Sandford. 1842."

Council of Trent for compiling an Index Prohibitorius, he repeats the decree of Clement XIII., his predecessor in the Papal chair, and adds,—

“ ‘ We must, with all our might, exterminate the deadly mischief of so many books, by *consuming the guilty elements of depravity in the flames!* ’ ”

“ These citations from the official bull of the present pope may suffice, demonstrating as they do that the Romish Church is prompted at the present hour by the maxim openly avowed more than three centuries ago by the vicar of Croyden, in the time of Henry VIII.:—

“ ‘ *We must root out printing, or printing will root us out!* ’ and under the like policy a Spanish bishop has, within a few years, forbidden the printing of any book in his diocese, except the Prayer-book.”—Pp. 356, 357.

Now it may be that Mr. B. would regard a war upon the part of the pope, to the utmost extent of his temporal and ghostly authority, against the “ *vile, detestable, and never-to-be-sufficiently-execrated liberty of booksellers,* ” to be no war at all upon the press. And that when he says, “ We must with all our might exterminate the deadly mischief of so many books, *by consuming the guilty elements of depravity in the flames,* ” the holy father meant to give his most unqualified approbation to “ a free press.” We must confess we have some suspicions upon our minds that Mr. B. made his declaration, that the reviewer “ does not adduce a single fact to prove his assertion,” under the impression that he was writing for a class of readers who would never take the pains to read the review he criticises. He is very careful not to quote a word of this famous “ encyclical letter,” as the language, once introduced to his readers, would be likely to beget a suspicion that there was at least a show of proof that Rome is hostile to a free press. With the authority above adduced before his eyes, this brave young convert to Romanism holds the following language:—

“ We deny his assertion, and defy him to lay his finger on a single act of the Roman Catholic Church, which indicates the least hostility on her part to a free press.”—P. 2.

The learned reader will probably conclude that we may very safely take up this challenge, though it would seem almost useless to attempt to reason with so blinded a devotee of Rome. Mr. B. might about as well challenge us to prove that he had ever advocated atheism, when there are hundreds of living witnesses who heard his atheistic lectures in Boston. We have facts enough at hand, over and above those alledged by the reviewer, in proof that Rome has ever been hostile to “ a free press.” But if a bull of the pope, issued *ex cathedra*, amounts to nothing with Mr. B., we de-



spair of satisfying him. To add anything upon the subject would be a work of supererogation. Although Mr. B. denies that "a single fact" had been adduced to prove the reviewer's assertion, he finds it necessary to notice the proof which is brought from the "expurgatory indexes." And though, if you believe Mr. B., these "expurgatory indexes," together with the "encyclical letter," do not amount to "a single fact," yet the "indexes" at least must be noticed, and their character and import explained, for fear that the wretched *nonentities*, if left to themselves, may do some mischief.

"The existence of such indexes we of course admit; but so far as they concern merely the pope's own temporal dominions, they come not within the scope of our present argument. The temporal court of Rome is to be judged the same as any other court, and the church is no more responsible for its acts than it is for the acts of the court of France, of Spain, or even of England. The expurgatory indexes concern us, as members of the Roman Catholic Church, only so far as they are designed for the instruction of the faithful throughout the world. But what, after all, are these expurgatory indexes, about which we hear so much, and which are such frightful monsters to our Protestant brethren? They are simply matters of discipline, prepared by the highest pastoral authority in the church,—not to encroach on the liberty of the press, for no book is likely to find a place in the index, if not published,—but to guard the faithful against the destructive effects of the licentiousness of the press. This is all."—Pp. 3, 4.

The expurgatory and prohibitory indexes, then, are not enforced by the civil power out of the Papal state. All this we knew very well before. They are merely "designed for the instruction of the faithful throughout the world—simple matters of discipline prepared by the highest pastoral authority in the church." All this looks very fair. Surely the Romish Church has a right to give "instruction" to "the faithful," and attend to her own "matters of discipline." "Instruction" and "discipline" are very harmless things in some hands, but with the Romanists these are words of terrible import.

Mr. B. does not tell his readers that when the Romish Church has been able to enlist the civil power upon her side, her "discipline" has deprived men of liberty and life. And that, when this is not the case, she enforces her "instructions" by the high penalty of excommunication, which, with a Romanist, implies all the agonies of the second death. Under her ghostly authority, her priesthood, whenever they dare, wrest from the people all books which are prohibited, and often consign them to the flames! Instances of this kind have been too numerous to admit of contradiction. "The instruction of the faithful," and "matters of discipline," are

phrases in Romish nomenclature, which have been employed to whitewash over the most horrid cruelties of the inquisition, and which can now deceive no one at all acquainted with the policy of Rome.

Next, Mr. B. urges the propriety and necessity of watching against bad books, and of guarding the minds of the unwary against them. He says:—

“Nobody, we presume, no matter of what religious persuasion, can recommend to all persons the indiscriminate reading of all manner of books and tractates which may be published.”—P. 4.

Very true. All this is perfectly right, so far. But here two inquiries naturally arise. First, what kind of books does the Church of Rome prohibit in her indexes? and, secondly, by what means does she prevent their circulation? If, upon examination, it shall turn out that she only prohibits such books as “Paine’s Age of Reason, Volney’s Ruins,” &c., and that in carrying out the ends of these indexes private rights are not violated, no one would have the least cause to complain. But what are the facts? Is it the corruption of morals, or the propagation of *heresy*, that these indexes are designed to prevent? No one will dare say that all the *corrupt* literature of Italy, or any other Roman Catholic country, has been forbidden, or that “the faithful” are very carefully guarded against this mischievous agency. No, indeed! A licentious book is not to be mentioned the same day with “King James’s Bible” by a Romish shepherd of the flock. The literature of Roman Catholic countries is abominably corrupt, while “the Bible in the vulgar tongues,” and books calling in question the infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church, and the supremacy of the pope, are proscribed, condemned, and burned with the most relentless zeal. And all this Mr. B. would make out a mere safeguard to the morals and salvation of the “faithful!” Mr. B.’s homily upon the danger of being “corrupted by reading bad books” is very good, to be sure, but wholly irrelevant. But we pass to another subterfuge:—

“The Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, are as strict in this respect as Catholics themselves. Each denomination has an expurgatory index, as much as the Church of Rome,—only it does not publish it,—and an index equally exclusive, to say the least. What, then, but rank hypocrisy, is this outcry against the Catholic Church? Wherein is her peculiar offense? Is it in the fact, that she publishes her index for the guidance of the faithful throughout the world, and does not profess one thing and do another?”—P. 5.

We will not pretend to say how much or how little “rank hy-

pocrisy" there is "in this outcry against the Church of Rome." But we will say, that Mr. B. must know that there is no parallel between the two cases. Perhaps it would be uncharitable to charge our opponent with "rank hypocrisy" for an effort to cover up the deformities of his newly-adopted mother, and to throw dust into the eyes of his readers. We dare not return railing for railing, but we must say in all plainness, this instance of gross sophistry can scarcely be reconciled with plain, straight-ahead honesty. Mr. B. knows that the denominations he mentions never go further than to *recommend* their own peculiar publications, and never make the publication or reading of a book a matter of discipline, unless it is of *irreligious* tendency. No Protestant, as far as we know, is ever forbidden the reading of a book merely because it is not in accordance with the theological views of his denomination. At least we know this to be the case among the Methodists. Protestants publish all the indexes they have, and Mr. B. knows it to be so. But a sad tale, indeed, Mr. B. tells us. The "Catholic Church," it seems, is miserably abused by the "sects," because she "does not profess one thing and do another." Alas, for the times! The true church—"the mistress and mother of all churches"—is scandalized and harassed for her *honesty*—for her *truthfulness*—*for not saying one thing and doing another!* Now, if this is truth and not fiction, then we see not how Mr. B. can make out that the Romish Church is unchangeable. He thanks the reviewer for proving that Romanists maintain this dogma, and says, "We not only concede, but we contend, that she is now what she always was, and always was what she now is, and always will be to the end of time." P. 3. If this, then, be true, and Mr. B.'s claim for her, that she "does not say one thing and do another," is well founded, why, then, she never did and never will say one thing and do another. What is the fact with regard to the past? At least a thousand years of her history is, to a great extent, made up of frauds and impositions. Her pious frauds, in the way of publications, are almost innumerable; her violation of oaths and plighted faith is recorded in heaven against her; her false-hearted professions, and her violated pledges of personal security, will there be witnessed to by martyred victims of her tyranny. O no! Rome has never said one thing and done another! Mr. B. has discovered that her own historians are liars, the biographers of popes scandalous defamers, and her casuists, who maintain that heretics may *innocently* be *deceived*, and that it is lawful to *break faith* with them, are themselves the greatest deceivers and heretics in the world.



Our opponent makes another false issue, by pretending to a parallel between the proscription of immoral and blasphemous publications and the censorship of the press found in Roman Catholic countries. He says :—

“ We, in this country, claim to have a free press ; and yet Abner Kneeland, a few years since, was imprisoned in Boston for writing a certain newspaper paragraph ; and one Dr. Knowlton was also, a short time before, imprisoned for publishing a certain infamous book.”—P. 6.

Mr. B., it seems, can see no difference between inflicting legal penalties upon an author for publishing a book that would injure the morals of community, and tend to subvert the whole social compact, and visiting with such penalties one who had assumed to express some doubts with regard to the divine authority of the seven sacraments, or to call in question the infallibility of an old dotard wearing a triple crown. We now proceed to another position :—

“ But the *Review* seeks to establish its proposition by alledging that the Church of Rome wages a deadly war upon liberty of mind and conscience. That the Church of Rome teaches, that conscience needs to be enlightened by the word of God before it can be followed as a safe guide, we freely admit ; and that she also teaches, that private judgment in interpreting the word of God or articles of faith should yield to the church, is by no means denied. Every Catholic believes the Holy Catholic Church infallible and authoritative. He feels it his blessed privilege to have an authority which cannot err to decide for him, and set him right, where his own reason might lead him astray. The Catholic Church is divine, it is a supernatural institution, and supernaturally sustained and protected. It teaches all truth, that is, all truth pertaining to religion and morals.”—P. 7.

Here we have the leading dogma of Rome unblushingly asserted. Now, we would be glad if Mr. B. would take the trouble to tell us what constitutes the church in which this infallibility resides. This, he knows, is a mooted point among the doctors. And until “ the faithful ” know whether what the “ father confessor ” teaches them has been determined by “ the church,” which is infallible—the pillar and ground of the truth—and until they know where this infallibility is lodged, and that the question has been determined by the church proper, they cannot, with good reason, implicitly receive the instructions of their ghostly guides in relation to it. Mr. B. has hit upon the only theory that can make this infallibility available, though it is one too absurd for any mind not utterly enslaved or totally bewildered. He says :—

“ But this promise was made to the church, the *whole* church,—not to any particular portion of the church, nor to any given number of

individuals in the church. Consequently, the Catholic regards no act of the church, even of the highest dignitaries of the church, as infallible, unless the act of the whole church. There are only two ways in which the church is assumed to act as the whole church,—that is, in a universal council, or, what is the same thing, the unanimous, or the morally unanimous, assent of all the bishops or pastors of the church, and through the pope, deciding *ex cathedra*, as the representative of the church; and a man may be a Catholic, without believing that the decision of the pope, unless assented to by the body of the bishops, is to be regarded as infallible. But we, for ourselves, hold the decision of the pope, when he represents, or decides for, the church universal, to be infallible.”—P. 21.

Now, Mr. B. is but a novice in Romanism; and though he has made astonishing progress since he adopted his new faith, he is not yet an oracle. We heard Bishop England preach upon the peculiar dogmas of Rome in the cathedral in Baltimore, in 1840, and he asserted that infallibility was lodged in the church collectively. He said a bishop might err, a council might err, and the pope might err; but *the whole church* could not err. But, upon this theory, how can we know the mind of “the whole church” upon a given topic? She has never uttered a response to any one question in dispute between the pope and Protestants. Her *sense* has never been collected and harmonized, and never will be.

Upon Mr. B.’s theory, all we would have to do would be to consult “*the holy father*” at Rome, and implicitly submit to his decisions. But when the decisions of one pope contradict those of another, and especially when the same pope decides different ways at different times, it is a little difficult to determine which is right, or to see the signs of infallibility anywhere. But all this Mr. B. can easily surmount; and perhaps we should give him no further annoyance upon the point at present.

After all, Mr. B. will have it that the Church of Rome really allows the utmost liberty of conscience of speech and of the press that can be claimed or desired. He says:—

“You are arrested, then, because the church cannot tolerate your error. You are free to advocate *all* truth, but not free to advocate *all* error. Here is all the restriction placed upon you; and surely this leaves ample room for the freest thought, and the fullest investigation of all subjects.”—P. 8.

But who is to tell us what that “truth” is that we may “advocate?” The church teaches authoritatively—and the decisions of the pope are infallible—of course we can teach nothing but what the church, through the pope, teaches us. What a range of liberty is this! “The faithful” have full liberty to hold and teach just what his

holiness the pope says they may ! Was there ever conceived such expansive notions of liberty of conscience ! The whole of this broad ground Mr. B. has become heir to, in becoming a Romanist. No wonder he chirps and sings like a bird let out of a cage : he has escaped the perils of private judgment, and found the glorious liberty of giving his eyes, and ears, and conscience,—yea, soul and body, to the pope ! He has found, after all his devious wanderings, complete personal annihilation,—has merged his personal responsibility for his religious views in those of the bishop of Rome,—lost his moral agency and responsibility together, and now goes on most gloriously, being perfectly “free to advocate all truth,” and absolutely secure from “all error !” Who does not envy him his happiness ?

Mr. B. closes his argument upon the present point with the *argumentum ad hominem*. “All Protestant sects” are as intolerant as the Romish Church. Though they “professedly recognize the right of private judgment,” yet they “all in the same breath deny it. The Methodists excommunicate from their communion the members who lapse into what they call heresy, and so do all the other sects.”—P. 8.

So far as the Methodist Episcopal Church is concerned, this is a very unfair and entirely erroneous statement. We “excommunicate” no one for a variation of doctrinal views from our standards, upon doubtful questions, provided they hold them in charity. If they make them matters of bitter controversy and occasions of “dissension,” they become subjects of discipline, not otherwise.

But we must now pass to another point upon which Mr. B. controverts the positions of the reviewer. The reviewer asserts that “the Church of Rome has ever waged a deadly war upon literature.” This charge fills Mr. B. with pious indignation ; and to prove it totally groundless, he proceeds in a strain of great earnestness to sketch the state of literature in the Latin Church, through the “thousand years next preceding the Reformation,” and to give us a large catalogue of literary men who sprung up in the Romish Church. All this is meeting an issue which the reviewer does not make. He nowhere says that the Church of Rome has produced no literary men, or that she has no literature. The following are his propositions fully drawn out :—

“All those books, whether religious, literary, or classical, which cannot be expurgated to the necessary extent, are absolutely prohibited ; and accordingly we find that the pope and his grand inquisitors include, in the *Prohibitory Index*, Young's Night Thoughts, Milton's Paradise Lost, Cowper's Poems, and the like classical and standard works,



whether in history, literature, or morals, explicitly naming them, and prohibiting them to be read or possessed by any Roman Catholic in any country."

"Thus has the Romish Church ever labored to suppress every species of literature which could not be made tributary to her hierarchy, and this by such desperate measures as excommunicating the authors, burning the books, and prohibiting booksellers, printers, &c., from dealing with them, while the faithful were warned of the spiritual and temporal penalties they incur by reading the works of the prohibited authors, who, indeed, are anathematized not only in reference to the works already written, but equally those which *these authors might write in the future*."—*Meth. Quart. Rev. for July, 1844*, pp. 354, 355.

Now, will Mr. B. controvert these propositions? Has not the Church of Rome for centuries expurgated scientific and literary productions, and prohibited those which were found too intractable to admit of being made conformable to her dogmas? Has she not "suppressed every species of literature which could not be made tributary to her hierarchy?" Who dare deny this? Mr. B. knows right well that upon the proper issue here made he could not sustain himself for a moment. The principal authority upon which the reviewer relies is the prohibitory and expurgatory indexes, and from these he sketches a few of the many instances which he might have adduced in proof, though Mr. B. asserts that there is "not a proof,—not the shadow of a proof" adduced, and that he does not "even attempt to bring any proof" of the truth of his allegations!

This whole section is crowded with the names of Romish authors—fathers, poets, &c.—in proof that the Church of Rome has ever been the great patron of letters; but Mr. B. neglects to tell his readers how many of these authors have been prohibited, and how many others have been mangled and patched until it is impossible to tell what portions of their works are genuine and what spurious. The reader may judge a little of this man's effrontery, when he hears that he claims Bacon, Shakspeare, Pope, Dryden, and even Milton (!) for Romanists, and that he claims the works of Erasmus, Dante, and others, as splendid specimens of Romish literature; when the whole of the works of Erasmus are in the indexes, and some of those of Dante and others have been expurgated and garbled, and that it was merely the good luck of these two great authors that they died in their own beds. We have before us the index of Sixtus V., in which—under the head of "*Auctores quorum libri, et scripta omnia prohibentur*," *Authors whose books and writings are all prohibited*—is the name of "Erasmus Roterodamus." And as for Dante, the great Italian poet, history tells us that he died just in time to escape the clutches of the holy father;

and that a bishop was sent from Rome to dig up and burn his body, but finding that the execution of his commission would be likely to excite a popular tumult, it was prudently waived. These are unfortunate names for Mr. B.; and it seems a pity that he should have manifested the hardihood to parade them among the Catholic authors who had contributed to the glory and renown of the Romish Church by those productions which have suffered the very proscriptive policy of which we complain.

There are in this section many historical blunders which we cannot occupy space to correct. Any one who can swallow Mr. B.'s glorification of "the dark ages," and his gross libels upon Protestant literature, can know nothing of the matter. He who can believe that "the last thousand years next preceding the Reformation" constituted the millennium of literature, and that the Reformation was a mere outbreak of vandalism, which has resulted in the destruction of all the monuments of genius within its reach, may believe anything, and is scarcely worth converting from his errors.

Next, Mr. B. meets the charge of "hostility to science." Before he proceeds to meet the charge, he gives us a learned homily upon the "infallible authority" of the church, which he says "Protestants do seem never to comprehend:"—and he might have added, that Protestants do not "comprehend" this doctrine of "infallible authority," for the reason that it is incomprehensible, and that Romanists do not comprehend it themselves. Where this infallibility is located is a matter of dispute among Romish doctors, and will remain so notwithstanding Mr. B. has settled the question. All this we pass, and proceed to the question at issue.

The charge contains two specifications. The first is, that Pope Zachary deposed Virgil, bishop of Saltsburg, for teaching the doctrine of the antipodes. This was asserted by Kepler, and has been reaffirmed by many others. A tolerably full examination of authorities has brought us to the conclusion that the assertion is not fully sustained. The facts appear to be these. Virgil, while a mere priest, engaged in a controversy with Boniface, archbishop of Mentz—who was a strong-headed, intolerant, and ignorant ecclesiastic—upon some points of discipline, for which the archbishop thoroughly hated him. On Virgil's broaching the theory of the earth's rotundity, and the consequent fact or possibility of antipodes, the pious high functionary supposed, or affected to suppose, that the consequence of his system was that there must be another earth below this, and another sun and moon, and another race of men who did not proceed from Adam, and were not redeemed by

Christ. Of all these heresies the archbishop accused the priest to the pope : and it was upon the presumption of his guilt that he was ordered to appear at Rome. What the whole amounted to is not known with certainty ; but the Romish writers charitably conclude, that as Virgil subsequently returned to his work, and was, indeed, made a bishop, that he made satisfactory explanations to his holiness, and was reconciled to the archbishop. The best way the thing can be fixed, it shows great ignorance and stupidity, or great wickedness, on the part of the archbishop, and does not wholly clear the pope. Here we will leave this specification ; and have no regret that we are brought to the conclusion, that the view taken by the reviewer is not fully sustained.

The second specification is founded upon the case of Galileo, of which the following is a faithful sketch.

This famous Italian philosopher was accused, in 1615, by "his eminence the lord cardinal Bellarmine," of holding the damnable heresy that the earth revolved round the sun. In 1616 he was required to renounce that heresy, and not in any way to teach it to others. And in 1623 the philosopher was arraigned before "the Holy Office of the Inquisition," and condemned and imprisoned ; and his doctrine, or rather the Copernican doctrine, of the rotundity of the earth and its annual revolution round the sun, declared to be heresy ; and he was obliged to abjure it with his hand upon the holy Gospels. This, it is suspected, he was forced to do by *torture* ;\* and it is said, that when he arose from his knees after his forced and false abjuration, he stamped with his feet and whispered to one of his friends, "*E pur si muove*"—*It does move though !* But all this Mr. B. pronounces to be "false, totally false from beginning to end, with not one word of truth in it." Let us now attend to his reasons for this flat denial of a plain, indubitable historical fact.

And first he urges that the doctrine, that "the earth moves and the sun is at rest," had been taught by Cusanus, Copernicus, and other Catholics, previous to the time of Galileo, and had not been condemned by the church ; and proceeds to ask :—

"If it was a heresy, why was it so long tolerated ? If Rome was opposed to science, why did she protect and honor its cultivators ? And how happens it, that in the case of Galileo alone, who broached no novelty, who brought out no new theory, she suddenly became a persecutor ?"—Pp. 23, 24.

---

\* The fact that Galileo was put to the torture of the cord is proved by Quinet, in his "*L' Ultramontanisme*." We cannot here give the reader the facts presented by the learned Frenchman, but may do it hereafter.



In answer to this we would simply say, we are not bound to tell how all this "happens." If Rome is inconsistent with herself, we are not bound to account for it. The force of this reasoning depends entirely upon the presumption that the Church of Rome is always consistent—a presumption that we do not admit, and that is contradicted by innumerable facts. How she asserts and denies, says and unsays, is for her apologists, and not for us, to say. This argument presumes quite too far upon the ignorance of Protestants with respect to the history of the disagreements, self-contradictions, and schisms of Rome. Why some popes should condemn opinions, books, and persons, and others approve them—why, for instance, *Gregory* the Great should condemn *simony*, and excommunicate and anathematize those who practiced it, and yet all the popes, bishops, and clergy of the Romish Church for a thousand years past should have been addicted to it, is not for us to explain; but for those who assert the infallibility of the Church of Rome.

Mr. B. next proceeds to give us the Romish version of the case, condensed from the "Dublin Review." It is as follows:—

"But Galileo was not condemned for teaching this theory, nor was the theory itself condemned, nor was Galileo ever imprisoned, or required to retract his doctrine. What, then, are the real facts in the case? It appears, that Galileo, by the manner in which he proclaimed his theory, his intemperance in advocating it, and his attempt to reconcile it with the Scriptures, created him many enemies, who sought, in 1615, to get him cited before the Inquisition, but without effect. No censure was passed upon him or his doctrine; he was simply required to speak as a mathematician, to confine himself to his discoveries and his scientific proofs, without meddling with the Scriptural question. But with this Galileo was not satisfied. He insisted on two things,—first, that his doctrine was demonstrated, and second, that it was supported by Scripture; and he came of his own accord to Rome, in 1616, to obtain a decision of these two points in his favor. There was no charge against him, he was not *cited* to appear, but he came of his own accord, because he wished to obtain the sanction of Rome to his theories. The court of Rome was unwilling to interfere; but, at length, yielding to the importunities of Galileo and his friends, the pope finally referred the question to the Inquisition, who decided the two points against Galileo; that is, they decided that the doctrine was not demonstrated and not supported by Scripture,—for these were the simple points before them,—and enjoined it upon Galileo not to teach it henceforth as a theory demonstrated, and to observe silence as to the Scriptural question. This would still have left him free to teach it as an hypothesis, and to have adduced every mathematical proof in its favor in his power. But Galileo was not content with this, which left him full liberty as a scientific man, and he was therefore forbidden to teach the doctrine at all. This, as nearly as we can seize it, is the purport of the decision of the

Inquisition in 1616. But there was in this no positive condemnation of the doctrine, and no retraction of it required. Galileo was still honored at Rome; and when his friend, Cardinal Bambarini, became Pope Urban the Eighth, he came to Rome again, was received with the highest honors, and the pope bestowed a pension on him and his son.

"For seventeen years after this decision in 1616, Galileo continued his mathematical pursuits, undisturbed, with the greatest success, receiving everywhere honor and applause, and nowhere more than at Rome. Cardinal Bambarini, who dissented from the decision of the Inquisition, became Pope Urban the Eighth. He was the friend of Galileo, and not opposed to the heliocentric theory. Galileo's friends under this pope were everywhere encouraged and promoted, and it seemed that one needed only to advocate his doctrine to be sure of the pope's favor. Galileo was elated, and published his *Dialogues*, in which he brings out the theory, contrary to the obligation he had taken, and in a manner the most intemperate, and the most satirical and contemptuous to authority. He was accordingly cited in 1633 to appear at Rome, and was condemned,—the question turning on his contempt for authority, and not at all on the truth or falsity of his doctrine. What punishment was imposed upon him we do not know."—Pp. 24, 25.

There is nothing new in all this. It is the false and oft-repeated representation of the Jesuits; a mere repetition of what these arch-deceivers have tried for the two past centuries to palm upon the world for truth. And yet up to this time there have been found those among this order who have regarded the Copernican system of astronomy as under the ban of the church, and consequently as false. Will Mr. B. tell us how this "happened?" But we will now give authority, which Mr. B. will not question, which demolishes his entire superstructure—which refutes and annihilates every material item in this whole congeries of sheer fabrications. And our authority is no less than "*The Sentence of the Inquisition on Galileo.*" We give the whole verbatim. It is as follows:—

"We, the undersigned, by the grace of God, cardinals of the holy Roman Church, inquisitors general throughout the whole Christian republic, special deputies of the holy apostolical chair against heretical depravity,

"Whereas you, Galileo, son of the late Vincenzo Galilei of Florence, aged seventy years, were denounced in 1615 to this holy office, for holding as true a false doctrine taught by many, namely, that the sun is immovable in the centre of the world, and that the earth moves, and also with a diurnal motion; also for having pupils whom you instructed in the same opinions; also, for maintaining a correspondence on the same with some German mathematicians; also, for publishing certain letters on the solar spots, in which you developed the same doctrine as true; also, for answering the objections which were continually

produced from the Holy Scriptures, by glozing the said Scriptures according to your own meaning; and whereas thereupon was produced the copy of a writing, in form of a letter, professedly written by you to a person formerly your pupil, in which, following the hypothesis of Copernicus, you include several propositions contrary to the true sense and authority of the Holy Scripture: therefore this holy tribunal being desirous of providing against the disorder and mischief which was thence proceeding and increasing to the detriment of the holy faith, by the desire of his holiness, and of the most eminent lords cardinals of this supreme and universal Inquisition, the two propositions of the stability of the sun, and motion of the earth, were *qualified* by the *theological qualifiers* as follows:—

"1st. *The proposition that the sun is in the centre of the world and immovable from its place, is absurd, philosophically false, and formally heretical; because it is expressly contrary to the Holy Scripture.*

"2dly. *The proposition that the earth is not the centre of the world, nor immovable, but that it moves, and also with a diurnal motion, is also absurd, philosophically false, and, theologically considered, at least erroneous in faith.*

"But whereas, being pleased at that time to deal mildly with you, it was decreed in the holy congregation, held before his holiness on the 25th day of February, 1616, that his eminence the lord cardinal Belarmine should enjoin you to give up altogether the said false doctrine; if you should refuse, that you should be ordered by the commissary of the holy office to relinquish it, not to teach it to others, nor to defend it, nor even mention it, and in default of acquiescence that you should be imprisoned; and in execution of this decree, on the following day at the palace, in presence of his eminence, the said lord cardinal Belarmine, after you had been mildly admonished by the said lord cardinal, you were commanded by the acting commissary of the holy office, before a notary and witnesses, to relinquish altogether the said false opinion, and in future neither to defend nor teach it in any manner, neither verbally nor in writing, and upon your promising obedience you were dismissed.

"And in order that so pernicious a doctrine might be altogether rooted out, nor insinuate itself farther to the heavy detriment of the Catholic truth, a decree emanated from the holy congregation of the index prohibiting the books which treat of this doctrine; and it was declared false, and altogether contrary to the Holy and Divine Scripture.

"And whereas a book has since appeared, published at Florence last year, the title of which showed that you were the author, which title is: *The Dialogue of Galileo Galilei, on the two Principal Systems of the World, the Ptolemaic and Copernican*; and whereas the holy congregation has heard that, in consequence of the printing of the said book, the false opinion of the earth's motion and stability of the sun is daily gaining ground; the said book has been taken into careful consideration, and in it has been detected a glaring violation of the said order, which had been intimated to you; inasmuch as in this book you have defended the said opinion, already and in your presence condemned; although in the said book you labor with many circumlocutions to in-



duce the belief that it is left by you undecided, and in express terms probable: which is equally a very grave error, since an opinion can in no way be probable which has been already declared and finally determined contrary to the Divine Scripture. Therefore, by our order you have been cited to the holy office, where, on your examination upon oath, you have acknowledged the said book as written and printed by you. You also confessed that you began to write the said book ten or twelve years ago, after the order aforesaid had been given. Also, that you demanded license to publish it, but without signifying to those who granted you this permission that you had been commanded not to hold, defend, or teach the said doctrine in any manner. You also confessed that the style of the said book was, in many places, so composed that the reader might think the arguments adduced on the false side to be so worded as more effectually to entangle the understanding than to be easily solved, alledging in excuse, that you have thus run into an error, foreign (as you say) to your intention, from writing in the form of a dialogue, and in consequence of the natural complacency which every one feels with regard to his own subtilties, and in showing himself more skillful than the generality of mankind in contriving, even in favor of false propositions, ingenious and apparently probable arguments.

"And, upon a convenient time being given to you for making your defense, you produced a certificate in the hand-writing of his eminence the lord cardinal Bellarmine, procured, as you said, by yourself, that you might defend yourself against the calumnies of your enemies, who reported that you had abjured your opinions, and had been punished by the holy office; in which certificate it is declared that you had not abjured, nor had been punished, but merely that the declaration made his holiness, and promulgated by the holy congregation of the index, had been announced to you, which declares that the opinion of the motion of the earth, and stability of the sun, is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and, therefore, cannot be held or defended. Wherefore, since no mention is there made of two articles of the order, to wit, the order 'not to teach,' and 'in any manner,' you argued that we ought to believe that, in the lapse of fourteen or sixteen years, they had escaped your memory, and that this was also the reason why you were silent as to the order, when you sought permission to publish your book, and that this is said by you not to excuse your error, but that it may be attributed to vain-glorious ambition, rather than to malice. But this very certificate, produced on your behalf, has greatly aggravated your offense, since it is therein declared that the said opinion is contrary to the Holy Scripture, and yet you have dared to treat of it, to defend it, and to argue that it is probable; nor is there any extenuation in the license artfully and cunningly extorted by you, since you did not intimate the command imposed upon you. But whereas it appeared to us that you had not disclosed the whole truth with regard to your intentions, we thought it necessary to proceed to the rigorous examination of you, in which (without any prejudice to what you had confessed, and which is above detailed against you, with regard to your said intention) you answered like a good Catholic.

"Therefore, having seen and maturely considered the merits of your

cause, with your said confessions and excuses, and everything else which ought to be seen and considered, we have come to the under-written final sentence against you.

"Invoking, therefore, the most holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his most glorious Virgin Mother Mary, by this our final sentence, which, sitting in council and judgment for the tribunal of the reverend masters of sacred theology, and doctors of both laws, our assessors, we put forth in this writing touching the matters and controversies before us, between the magnificent Charles Sincerus, doctor of both laws, fiscal proctor of this holy office of the one part, and you, Galileo Galilei, an examined and confessed criminal from this present writing now in progress as above of the other part, we pronounce, judge, and declare that you, the said Galileo, by reason of these things which have been detailed in the course of this writing, and which, as above, you have confessed, have rendered yourself vehemently suspected by this holy office of heresy: that is to say, that you believe and hold the false doctrine, and contrary to the Holy and Divine Scriptures, namely, that the sun is the centre of the world, and that it does not move from east to west, and that the earth does move, and is not the centre of the world; also that an opinion can be held and supported as probable after it has been declared and finally decreed contrary to the Holy Scripture, and consequently that you have incurred all the censures and penalties enjoined and promulgated in the sacred canons and other general and particular constitutions against delinquents of this description. From which it is our pleasure that you be absolved, provided that, first, with a sincere heart and unfeigned faith, in our presence, you abjure, curse, and detest the said errors and heresies, and every other error and heresy contrary to the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome, in the form now shown to you.

"But, that your grievous and pernicious error and transgression may not go altogether unpunished, and that you may be made more cautious in future, and may be a warning to others to abstain from delinquencies of this sort, we decree that the book of the Dialogues of Galileo Galilei be prohibited by a public edict, and we condemn you to the formal prison of this holy office for a period determinable at our pleasure; and, by way of salutary penance, we order you, during the next three years, to recite once a week the seven penitential psalms, reserving to ourselves the power of moderating, commuting, or taking off the whole or part of the said punishment and penance.

"And so we say, pronounce, and by our sentence declare, decree, and reserve, in this and in every other better form and manner, which lawfully we may and can use.

"So we, the subscribing cardinals, pronounce.

FELIX, Cardinal di Ascoli,  
GUIDO, Cardinal Bentivoglio,  
DESIDERIO, Cardinal di Cremona,  
ANTONIO, Cardinal S. Onofrio,  
BERLINGERO, Cardinal Gessi,  
FABRICIO, Cardinal Verospi,  
MARTINO, Cardinal Ginetti."

Now let the reader carefully compare the statements of Mr. B. and this official condemnation of Galileo and his philosophy; and then see how he can avoid the conclusion that Mr. B. has been grossly deceived, or else has knowingly misrepresented the whole case. Let us mark a few points.

1. Mr. B. says, "Galileo was not condemned for teaching this theory, nor was the theory itself condemned." Contrast this with the specific language in which his two propositions are condemned. "The proposition that the sun," &c., "is absurd, philosophically false, and formally heretical." "The proposition that the earth," &c., "is also absurd, philosophically false, and, theologically considered, at least erroneous in faith."

2. Notice the issue between Galileo and his opponents, as Mr. B. has it: viz., whether the theory was demonstrated, and according to Scripture; and then read the fifth paragraph of the Sentence, beginning, "But whereas." From this part of the Sentence it is perfectly plain that the "holy office" had determined against the *truth* of the doctrine. It is called "false doctrine," and Galileo is commanded "to relinquish altogether the said *false opinion*, and neither to defend nor teach it in any manner." Was this simply asserting "that the doctrine was not demonstrated and not supported by Scripture," and requiring Galileo not to teach the contrary?

3. Mr. B. says, Galileo "would still be left free to teach it as an hypothesis, and to have adduced any mathematical proof in its favor in his power." Whereas the inquisitors plainly deny him this right, "since," as they say, "an opinion can no way be probable which has been already declared and finally determined contrary to the Divine Scripture."

4. Mr. B. says, "For seventeen years after this decision, in 1616, Galileo continued his mathematical pursuits, undisturbed, with the greatest success, receiving everywhere honor and applause, and nowhere more than at Rome."

But it was at the end of these "seventeen years," in 1633, that he was summoned to Rome, and was then and there condemned by the Inquisition, and obliged to retract, under the very reign of "his friend, Cardinal Bambarini," (Barbarini?) who had become "Pope Urban the Eighth." He, indeed, had "success" in "his mathematical pursuits" during these seventeen years, but no thanks to Rome, for his "Dialogues," the principal work he had composed during that period, was condemned and burned by the Inquisition; and the glory of his reception at "Rome" consisted in his being compelled to make his humiliating and false confession, or pay the forfeit with his life.



5. Mr. B. alledges that "the question" in his condemnation turned "upon his contempt of authority, and not at all on the truth or falsity of his doctrine." All the documents contradict this statement. The Sentence is most explicitly based upon the *falsehood* of the *doctrine* he taught, and that alone.

But Mr. B. has a way to elude the conclusion that the church erred in this case, even if all the facts we assert are admitted. "The Inquisition is not an institution supposed by Catholics to be infallible."—P. 26.

This is the old ground of Tiraboschi, who attempts to make a subtil distinction between the bulls of the pope and the inquisitorial decrees which were sanctioned and approved by him. We need not enter into this question. It is wholly immaterial to the argument whether Romanists consider the Inquisition infallible or not. It is sufficient for us to know that the decrees of that court claim to be infallible,\* and are enacted with that claim with the pope's knowledge and approbation, and the condemnation of heretical books and persons by the holy office is as much the act of the Church of Rome as any act of the supreme pontiff. And whatever Mr. B. may say, this has been the opinion of abler and better-informed Roman Catholics than he is. A professor of the University of Lauvain—a zealous opponent of Galileo—quotes the bull of Sixtus V., by which the congregation of the index was remodelled, to prove this point. The language is:—"They are to examine and expose the books which are repugnant to the Catholic doctrines and Christian discipline, and after reporting on them to us, they are to condemn them by our authority." And in the preface of the Jesuits' edition of Newton's Principia we have the clearest evidence that the editors supposed his system under the ban of the church. This is the language:—

"Newton in his third book supposes the motion of the earth. We could not explain the author's propositions otherwise than by making the same supposition. We are therefore forced to sustain a character which is not our own; but we profess to pay the obsequious reverence which is due to the decrees pronounced by the supreme pontiffs against the motion of the earth."

"This coy reluctance to admit what nobody any longer doubts, has survived to the present time; for Bailli informs us, that the utmost endeavors of Lalande, when at Rome, to obtain that Galileo's work should be erased from the index, were entirely ineffectual, in consequence of the decree which had been fulminated against him; and in fact both it, and the book of Copernicus, 'Nisi Corrigatur,' are still to be seen on the forbidden list of 1828."—*Life of Galileo*, pp. 64, 65.

---

\* See the language as quoted above, No. 3.

Now if Mr. B. chooses to proceed with his opposition to the opinions and representations of a portion of his brethren, we cannot object; but we shall not allow him to be the only expositor of the transactions in question. We must allow him to be led by a portion of the Jesuits, and dissent from the rest; for he cannot very well agree with them all: but he shall not deceive the public. It is a delicate business for a mere novice in Romanism to attempt to decide peremptorily questions upon which so much has been said, and upon which such discordant opinions have been entertained by Romish writers. He may by this mode of procedure, before he is aware of it, find himself running against a burning mountain, and so be obliged to add to the long list of recantations which he has already made. But it is useless to admonish Mr. B. of approaching danger, for he is not capable of alarm. He must go on and make his experiments, and take the consequences. To these we leave him.

Mr. B. finally takes "the reviewer" to task for asserting that, "except painting and sculpture, no one of the arts and sciences has escaped the anathemas of Rome;" and demands where the Church of Rome has anathematized "music," "architecture," and "logic." We will not attempt to prove that these "arts" or "sciences" have ever been formally anathematized by Rome, and yet we are by no means sure they have not been. Mr. B.'s method of reasoning here, as in former instances, is wholly fallacious; proceeding upon the presumption that what the Church of Rome has favored at one time, she has not condemned at another. But if it will relieve Mr. B. in any manner, we will relinquish the charge so far as "music" and "architecture" are concerned. But as to "logic," unless Jesuitical arts and inquisitorial tortures constitute a part of that science, we cannot concede that Rome has ever been its patron.

We now leave Mr. B. for the present. When he shall see proper to resume the subject, and meet "the charge of hostility to revelation and religion," we may introduce him again to our readers. But when he undertakes a defense of "the Catholic policy in regard to the Bible," we must be permitted to hope that he will meet the question fairly. It is not for "an unwillingness to receive King James' Bible as the pure word of God," that we accuse Rome of hostility to the Scriptures, but for her "unwillingness" that the Scriptures should be given to the people "in the vulgar tongues," and her constant efforts to corrupt the pure word of God, and to elevate above the inspired Scriptures the traditions and commandments of men. This is the great sin we shall prove upon her in spite of the "logic" of our friend, Mr. Brownson.

## ART. VIII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Voyages round the World; from the Death of Captain Cook to the Present Time.* New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THIS little volume forms No. 172 of that excellent and universally popular series, Harper's Family Library: and is in fact a necessary sequel to one of its previous volumes. The progress of discovery, within the period embraced, has been rapid, and its results exceedingly rich. The compiler of this book has not made it simply a narrative, but has added remarks upon the social condition of the inhabitants of recently discovered countries, their progress in the arts, and especially their advance in religious knowledge. It will be found a very interesting and valuable work.

---

2. *Principles of Medical Jurisprudence: with so much of Anatomy, Physiology, Pathology, and the Practice of Medicine and Surgery, as are essential to be known by Lawyers, Coroners, Magistrates, Officers of the Army and Navy, &c.* By WILLIAM A. GUY, M. B., Cantab. Professor of Forensic Medicine. Edited by C. A. LEE, M. D. Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff-street.

As its title indicates, this is a book of wide and almost universal utility. It sets forth, very clearly and in an admirable manner, all those principles connected with medical jurisprudence for which persons in almost every walk of life find frequent use. It is very justly described by the American editor, as a comprehensive epitome of all that is known in medical jurisprudence: and it is presented in so concise and methodical a manner as greatly to facilitate the task of the student and the convenience of the general reader. It is confined very strictly to the practical and actually useful details of the science, wasting nothing upon mere literary ornaments, and yet being abundantly ample in its facts and illustrations. Dr. Lee has added to the work about two hundred pages of original matter, adapting it more perfectly to the laws and institutions of this country, and has had the valuable assistance, in this labor, of some of our most eminent jurists. The work is one of great value, and is published by the Harpers in a corresponding form. To the profession, and to the public at large, it must be cordially welcome.

---

3. *Notes Explanatory and Practical on the Epistles of Paul to the Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians.* By ALBERT BARNES. Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff-street.

THE author of this volume is well-known as a sound and able expositor of the sacred writings; and has hitherto rendered essential service to the cause of Scriptural science by his published writings. In this work he has presented a large body of very valuable comments upon the three Epistles of Paul which are included in the titles.



Giving first an introduction to each Epistle, he presents also an analysis of each chapter: and this is followed by notes explanatory and practical upon the several expressions of each verse. Everything doubtful, or at all difficult, in the meaning of the writer, is very clearly and fully elucidated. The work is eminently calculated to find favor with the religious public.

---

4. *Alnwick Castle, and other Poems.* By FITZ GREENE HALLECK. Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff-street.

WE are glad to meet Mr. Halleck's too few but very beautiful productions in so elegant a volume as that just issued by the Harpers. No American poet is at once so vigorous and so melodious. His lines are at the same time as strong and nervous as the bow of the far-shooting Apollo, and as musical as the strains of his lute. The poem which gives name to the volume is, perhaps, the most elaborate, and on the whole the best of the collection; though that upon Marco Bozzaris is, perhaps, still more widely known, and evinces more of the author's peculiar ability. Mr. Halleck has carefully excluded everything but his best productions, and has thus issued one of the most creditable volumes of American poetry ever published.

---

5. *A System of Latin Versification, in a Series of Progressive Exercises: including Specimens of Translation from English and German Poetry into Latin Verse.* By CHARLES ANTHON, LL. D. Harper & Brothers.

NOTHING more need be said of this volume, than that it is well worthy of the excellent series of classical school-books of which it forms a part. It is very well calculated to aid teachers in the greatly neglected labor of teaching Latin versification, an exercise almost unknown in our classical schools, although it forms one of the most prominent features in the English system of education. We are conscious that it is of great service in making students familiar with the structure of the Latin, and that its universal neglect has been among the causes of the extreme depression of classical education in this country. Professor Anthon is certainly entitled to the warmest thanks of the whole community of American scholars, not only for this book, but for the series in which it is published. His classical school-books have been adopted in many of the leading schools of England, and are almost the only ones in use in the colleges and academies of this country. This work is issued in the same admirable style with the rest of the series.

---

6. *History of Greece.* By BISHOP THIRLWALL.

THE Harpers have republished this elaborate and very valuable work in two handsome and substantial volumes. We have not been able to examine it very closely, though a very slight inquiry into its merits is sufficient to show that it has manifold and manifest points of superiority

over the Histories by Mitford and Gillies. It is the work of a scholar, who has presented from all authentic sources a very complete and satisfactory history of this ancient and wonderful nation, in a spirit free from all undue bias in favor of any political system, and in a style recommended by its clearness, purity, and great elegance. The readers of Dr. Arnold's excellent Letters will recollect the terms of high admiration in which that great and good man frequently speaks of Thirlwall, and the great work on which he was engaged. The History must take its place, in all libraries, as a standard and indispensable work.

---

7. *The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection stated and defended: with Practical Illustrations and Advices. In a Series of Lectures.* By REV. GEORGE PECK, D. D. Abridged from the author's larger work. New-York: G. Lane & C. B. Tippet, 200 Mulberry-street. 1845.

THIS *abridgment* of the work upon *Christian Perfection* has been prepared in accordance with the suggestions of several friends in whose judgment we repose great confidence, (among them our highly-esteemed friend *Bishop Hamline*,) for the purpose of meeting the wants of common readers. We have only left out such portions of the original work as are more particularly interesting to scholars and theologians, and would scarcely be read by any other. The present work will be found, as a book upon the great doctrine of *entire sanctification*, complete in all its parts, while it is divested of the scholastic matter which, however important to ministers and students, prevents the general circulation of the original work among the people. Though we have retained some arguments and criticisms which may be beyond the reach of several classes of readers, yet they are so few, it is hoped they will not be deemed objectionable; and as it may be fairly presumed that they may be quite valuable to several other classes, who may not take the pains to read the larger work, they will upon the whole enhance the value of the present volume.

The great object in this publication is that of aiding in the work of "spreading Scriptural holiness over the land." And if our humble efforts shall in any measure contribute to this object, the earnest desire of our heart will be granted, and the great Author of all good shall have the praise.

---

8. *Plato against the Atheists; or the Tenth Book of the Dialogue on Laws: accompanied with Critical Notes, and followed by Extended Dissertations on some of the Main Points of the Platonic Philosophy, especially as compared with the Holy Scriptures.* By TAYLOR LEWIS, LL. D., Professor of Greek in New-York University. Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff-street.

THIS scholar-like work has been elicited by a conviction on the part of Professor LEWIS, that the Atheistic tendencies of modern science could in no way be more successfully met, than by a recurrence

to the vivid ideas and strong common sense of the great Athenian philosopher. It is intended to draw the attention of students in our colleges and theological seminaries to his writings; and thus to prepare the way for a more thorough acquaintance with his philosophy than is common among our theologians. We have rarely seen a work to which we are disposed to yield a more hearty welcome. Its influence upon our system of education cannot but be exceedingly beneficial; nor can it fail to awaken, in the minds of the thinking public, a distrust of that shallow speculation so rife at the present day, and so utterly destructive of all sound principles in religion and in politics. Its publication at the present moment is very timely. The immediate object of this Tenth Book of the Laws is to lay down a preamble containing reasons for the enactment of laws for the punishment of sacrilege and other offenses against religion: and the argument is divided into three parts:—1st, against those who denied the divine existence: 2d, against those who, while they admitted the existence of a God, denied his providence: and 3d, against those who, while they admitted both a God and a providence, maintained that the Deity was easily propitiated, or would not punish sin severely. It will be readily seen that the ground it covers is that upon which it is most fashionable, at the present time, to assail Christianity: and to those who appeal from revelation to the light of nature and of reason, the argument herein presented must have irresistible weight. As we intend hereafter to give a somewhat extended statement of our views with regard to the philosophy of Plato, as set forth in this work, we submit it, for the present, with strong commendations, to the public favor.

- 
9. *The Pulpit Encyclopedia, and Christian Minister's Companion; containing three hundred and sixty Skeletons and Sketches of Sermons, and eighty-two Essays on Biblical Learning, Theological Studies, and the Composition and Delivery of Sermons.* By the Author of "Sketches and Skeletons of Sermons," "Christian's Daily Portion," and "Sermons for Family Reading." The London edition in four volumes complete in one. 8vo., pp. 616. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1845.

THE full description of this work contained in the above title-page will supersede the necessity of much from us explanatory of its plan. We are happy to say that the work is the best we have seen of the class. The "Sketches" are upon the most approved plan of sermonizing, and the numerous "Essays" are from the great masters—the whole constituting a most excellent "Companion" for "the Christian Minister." "Skeletons," if used as helps to the study of sermons, are useful; but when, as sometimes, they are used as substitutes for original investigation, they are much worse than nothing. We are exceedingly gratified that the Appletons are turning their attention to such works as those we have the pleasure to notice in this number. They are all beautifully executed, and we earnestly hope will meet with adequate encouragement.

- 
10. *Perils of Popery: especially considered with Reference to the United States of America.* By REV. JOHN BARTON. 18mo., pp. 256. Cincinnati: H. B. Derby & Co. 1845.

THIS is a spirited performance, and one which should be extensively circulated and read.



11. *A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures.* By ALEXANDER CRUDEN, M. A. A new and condensed edition. Boston: Gould, Randall, & Lincoln. 8vo., pp. 568.

CRUDEN'S Concordance has, to the present, remained unrivaled in its particular department. The only difficulty in the way of its universal use has been its size, and consequent high price. The present edition is condensed and abridged by leaving out the Bible Dictionary, now not very valuable to the Biblical student. If it shall be found, as we are persuaded it will be, equally correct and copious in its references with the original, it will supply an important desideratum. The mechanical execution is good; and it can be had in muslin-back for \$1 25, of Mark H. Newman, 199 Broadway, New-York.

- 
12. *An American Dictionary of the English Language.* First edition, in octavo, &c. By NOAH WEBSTER, LL.D. In two volumes. Springfield, Mass.: George and Charles Merriman. 1845.

THIS great work scarcely needs our commendation; though we most cheerfully contribute our mite to the tide of public sentiment which, we doubt not, will continue for many years in its favor. That the work is learned, and contains many improvements in the orthography of the language, none will deny, whatever may be thought of a portion of its peculiarities by some. Its etymological information is unrivaled by any work of the class, and can scarcely be dispensed with. In an effort to embrace all the words of the language, the veteran philologist has, in some instances, incumbered his great work with words which never ought to be used; but excess in such a work is preferable to deficiency. His explanation of scientific terms is exceedingly convenient, and the "Introductory Dissertation" is invaluable. We hope this Dictionary will continue to hold its present high position until a better is produced, and this will not soon be done. The mechanical execution of the present edition is excellent.

- 
13. *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838-1842.* By CHARLES WILKES, U. S. N., Commander of the Expedition. With Illustrations and Maps, in five volumes, 8vo. Phila.: Lea & Blanchard. 1845.

WE have received vols. 1 and 2 of this great work. It gives a detailed account of the first scientific expedition sent out by the government of the United States. Its multifarious details are exceedingly interesting, and will excite much attention both at home and abroad. Perfect accuracy in everything is more than ought to be expected; yet, in the main, we have a basis for confidence in the truthfulness of the statements and representations presented. The style is concise and perspicuous, and the solution and presentation of the facts, so far as we are able to judge by a cursory examination, evincive of sound judgment and good taste. After a more thorough investigation of these interesting volumes, we hope to be able to give the reader a more comprehensive idea of them. The mechanical execution of the work is every way creditable to the enterprising house from which it emanates.

- 
14. *A History of Germany from the Earliest Period to the Present Time.* By FREDERICK ROHLRAUZH. Translated from the last German edition by JAMES D. HAAS. 8vo. pp., 486. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1845.

WE here have a philosophical History of Germany, from the earliest times to the fall of Napoleon. The work is executed with truly German industry and with unusual care and judgment. It belongs to the highest class of Histories. Both for style and matter it is of the highest excellence, and the philosophy of the great events which it records is so wisely drawn out as scarcely to leave room for criticism. The public will, we trust, duly acknowledge the debt of gratitude under which they are brought by the enterprising publishers for this cheap, but beautiful edition of a work which supplies a desideratum in history.

15. *A Manual of Ancient and Modern History, &c.* By W. C. TAYLOR, LL.D., M. R. A. S. Of Trinity College, Dublin. Revised, with a Chapter on the History of the United States, by C. S. HENRY, D. D., Professor of Philosophy and History in the University of New-York. Second edition, 8vo., pp. 797. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1845.

THIS volume is designed as a text-book in history for the use of academies and colleges. It unites "the philosophy with the narrative of history." The defects of the original work are very happily remedied by the editor, Dr. Henry; and, so far as we are able to judge, the present edition constitutes the most perfect work, for the purposes for which it is designed, now extant in this country. The formation of a basis for the study of history, by the student, is certainly an important object. To this Dr. Henry has paid special attention, and we are much mistaken if the American public are not brought under additional obligations to him and the publishers, for a book every way suited to that purpose.

16. *Meditations and Contemplations.* By JAMES HERVEY, A. M. To which is prefixed the Life of the Author. 12mo., pp. 400. Phila.: Sorin & Ball. 1845.

THE present edition of the celebrated work of Mr. Hervey is tastefully got up, and illustrated with many fine wood-cuts. The style of this author is florid, but chaste. The matter is full of sentiment, and glows with holy fervor. We recommend the present edition of the "*Meditations*" in preference to any we have seen.

17. *History of France from the Earliest Period to the Present Time.* By M. MICHELET. Vol. 1. Translated by G. H. SMITH, F. G. S. 8vo., double columns. Nos. 1 & 2. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1845.

MICHELET is at the head of a new school of historians in France. He is a writer of profound learning and immense research. Of his History of France an English reviewer says:—"It is not only a succession of faithful pictures, but a series of the profoundest deductions." His official position, as "professor of history for France," gives him access to the archives of the nation, of which, his History, so far as he has gone, shows that he knows well how to make the best use. The present edition will be issued in monthly numbers, probably twenty in all, and binding in four volumes.

18. *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D. D., late Head Master of Rugby School, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.* By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford. First American, from the third English edition. The two volumes complete in one. 12mo., pp. 516. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1845.

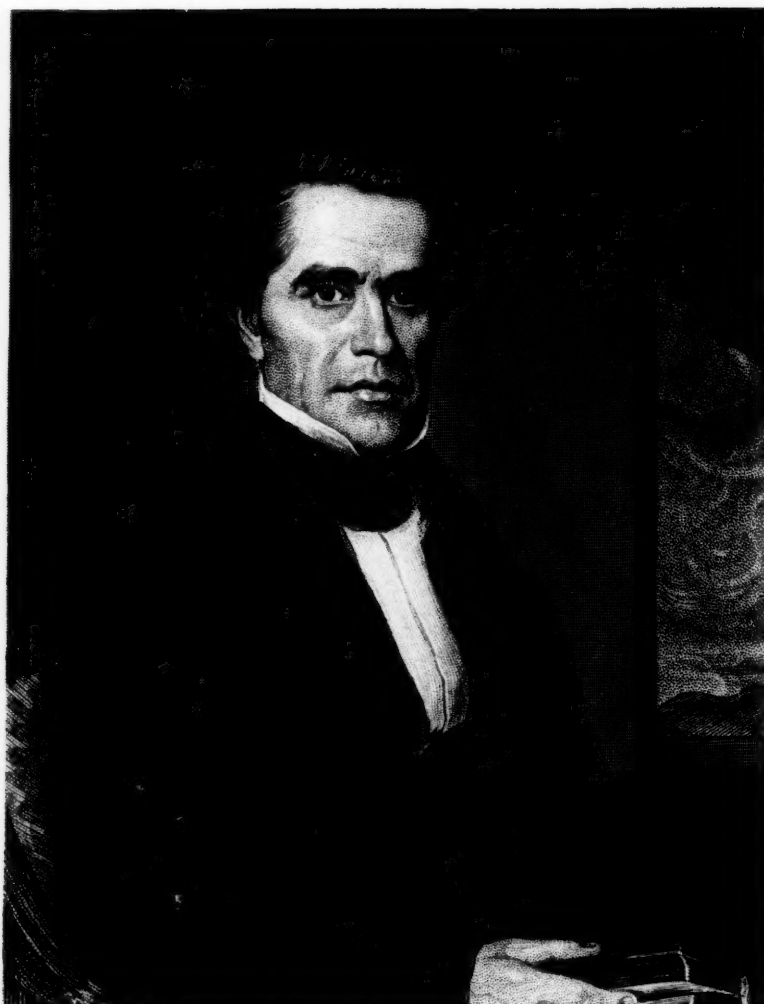
THIS is an exceedingly interesting volume. Dr. Arnold as a school-master, as a politician, as a reformer, as an author, and as a Christian, was no ordinary man. His "school-life at Digby," of fourteen years, was full of interest, especially to one interested in the business of education. The interest he felt in the rising generation, and his ideas of the connection of the right kind of intellectual training with the future destinies of the world, are graphically expressed in a passage which we have this moment opened upon by accident. He says: "The only hope is with the young, if by any means they can be led to think for themselves without following a party, and to love what is good and true, let them find it where they will." An extended review of this volume may be expected hereafter.

19. *History of the French Revolution, its Causes and Consequences.* By F. MACLEAN ROWAN. Two volumes in one. 18mo., pp. 360. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1845.

A work highly commended in the English Reviews.







Painted by J. Fine

Engraved by F. M. Goussier

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

in the National Archives

